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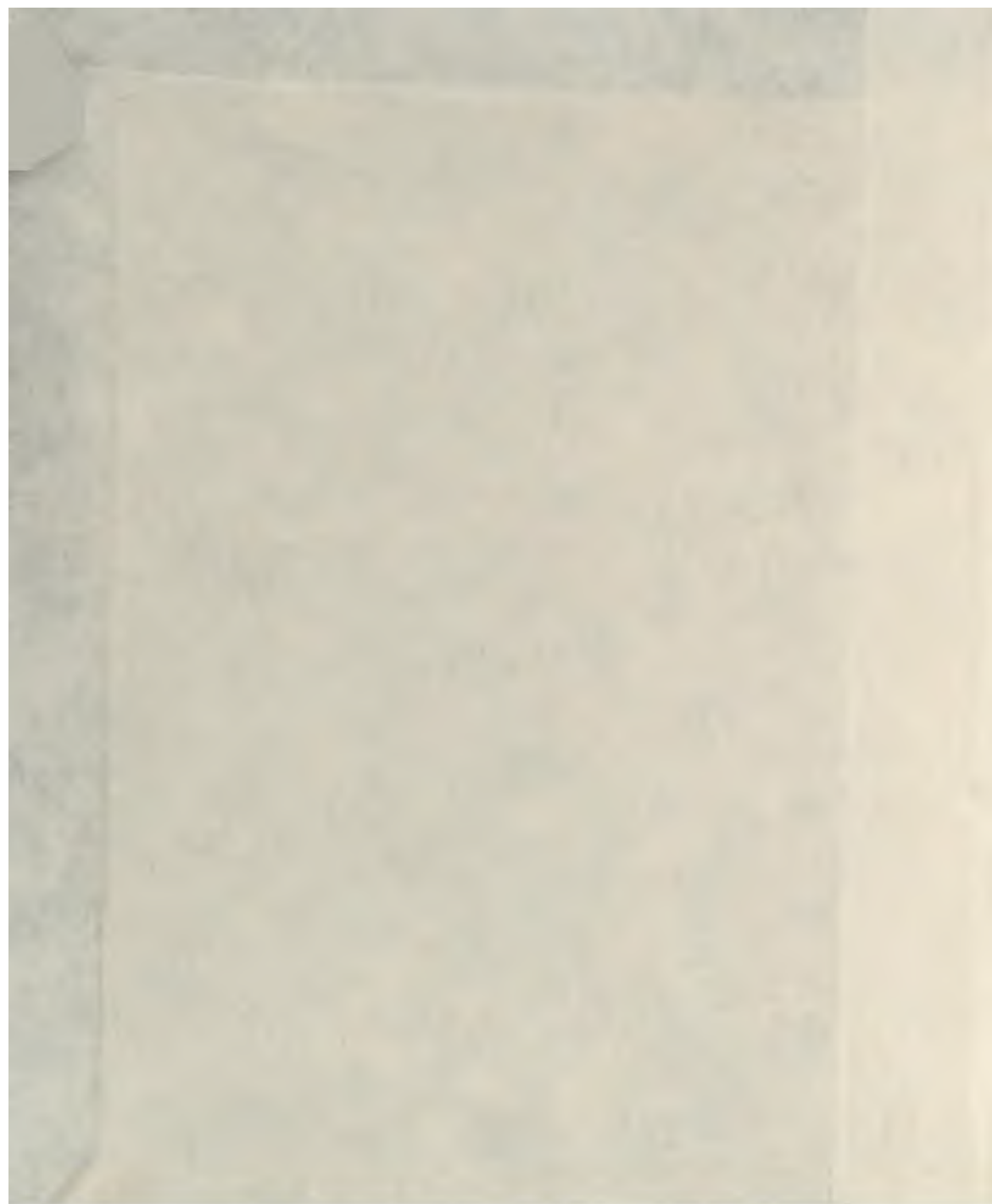
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H I S T O R I E
OF THE ARRIVALL OF EDWARD IV. IN ENGLAND
AND THE FINALL RECOUERYE OF HIS KINGDOMES
FROM HENRY VI. A.D. M.CCCC.LXXI.

EDITED BY JOHN BRUCE, ESQ. F.S.A.



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INTRODUCTION.

THE principal original historical authorities for the period to which the following narrative relates are, I. The Second Continuation of the History of Croyland * ; II. Fabyan's Chronicle † ; III. An English Chronicle from which there are large extracts in Leland's Collectanea ‡ ; IV. The *Anglica Historia* of Polydore Vergil § ; and V. The *Memoires* of Philip de Comines || : to these is now added, in the following narrative, a sixth authority, of greater value than any of them.

The Continuator of the History of Croyland is one of the best of our English Historians of the class to which he belongs. His name is unknown, but it appears in his work that he was a Doctor of Canon Law, was one of Edward the Fourth's Councilors, and was employed by that monarch upon a foreign mission.

* Published in Gale's *Rerum Anglicarum Script.* Vet. I. 549.

† I have used Sir Henry Ellis's edition, 4to. Lond. 1811.

‡ Vol. II. of the edition of 1774, p. 499.

§ I have used the Edition of Basil, fol. 1557.

|| My references are to the edition printed at Brussels in 1706, 4 vols. 8vo.

Thus connected with the house of York, but not writing until after the battle of Bosworth,* he holds the balance pretty evenly between the rival parties. He does not dwell much upon minute facts; but the general current of events is clearly, and, in all probability, accurately, detailed by him.

Fabyan's narrative is such an one as might be expected from a citizen and an alderman of the reign of Henry VII.; full, and no doubt correct, upon all points connected with the popular feeling and with transactions which took place in the City of London, but brief and inaccurate respecting events which passed elsewhere. *Fabyan's* bias was towards the Lancastrian party.

Of the *Chronicler* from whom *Leland* extracted we know absolutely nothing. The extracts contain many anecdotes and minute particulars, and the spirit and feeling of a contemporary are evident throughout, but I have not observed anything which has enabled me to identify the author. He writes with a very palpable inclination towards the party of "the innocent Henry."

From what sources *Polydore Vergil* derived his account of these events is unknown; but he has given an excellent narrative, superior in style, more abundant in facts, and more copious in description than any of those before mentioned. It of course strongly favours the house of Lancaster; and may indeed be considered as the account which that party was desirous should be believed.

* Gale, I. 575.

I have added *Philip de Comines* to the catalogue of authorities, principally with a view to his account of Edward the Fourth's proceedings on the Continent preparatory to his return into England, and his narrative of the battle of Tewkesbury; which last he seems to have received from some of those who fled from thence to the Continent.* His relation of the intermediate events is extremely inaccurate.

Upon these authorities, which in many points are most singularly contradictory, all our subsequent Chroniclers, with one exception, which will be noticed hereafter, have based their statements. Rastall abridges Fabyan; Hall translates Polydore Vergil and Philip de Comines; Stowe transcribes the Chronicle quoted by Leland; and the rest follow some one author and some another.

The present narrative has higher claims to authority than any of those I have noticed. It was written upon the spot; immediately after the events to which it relates; by some person possessed of full means of knowledge; and it will be seen that it was adopted by Edward IV. as an accurate relation of his achievements. All the other narratives either emanated from partisans of "the adverse faction," or were written after the subsequent triumph of the House of Lancaster, when it would not have been prudent—perhaps not safe—to publish any thing which tended to relieve the Yorkists from the weight of popular odium which attached to the real or supposed crimes of their leaders. We have

* Comines, I. 209, "*comment m'ont dit ceux qui y estoient.*"

here an authorised relation put forth by the Yorkists themselves, and giving their own account of the events upon which many of the heavy charges brought against their "house" have been founded.

The author says of himself, that he was a servant of Edward the Fourth, and that he "presently saw in effect a great parte of his exploytes, and the resydewe knew by true relation of them that were present at every tyme;" (p. 1.) and these assertions are corroborated, not merely by the narrative itself, which possesses all the characteristics of a relation of an eye-witness, but in a singular manner also by a communication made to the Society of Antiquaries in the year 1820, and published in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 11. It appears from that communication, and from a MS. relating to the same subject, in the possession of Thomas Amyot, Esq. with the use of which I have been kindly favoured, that on the 29th May 1471, three days only after the termination of the following narrative, Edward IV., being then at Canterbury, addressed a letter in French to the Nobles and Burgomasters of Bruges, thanking them for the courteous hospitality he had received from them during his exile, apprising them of the great success which had attended his expedition, and referring them to the bearer of the letter for further particulars of his victories. Those "farther particulars" were contained in a very brief French abridgment of the following narrative; and in the Public Library at Ghent there is a quarto MS. volume in vellum, which contains a con-

temporary transcript of the abridgment, and of the King's letter, all written with great care, and ornamented with four illuminations, representing the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury, the execution of the Duke of Somerset, and the attack of the Bastard Fauconberge upon London. It is probable that the Ghent MS. is a copy of the communication received from Edward IV. which was transmitted by the Citizens of Bruges to their brethren of Ghent, who were equally interested in the subject matter with themselves.

The identity of the Ghent MS. as an abridgment of the present narrative is unquestionable. Brief, meagre, and spiritless as it is, it yet contains quite enough to render the connexion indisputable. In both, the succession of events, even down to the most minute that are stated, is precisely the same ; in both, whenever several persons or several facts are mentioned in one sentence, they stand in the same order ; even in the re-translation from the French back into English, which alone is published in the *Archæologia*, the same epithets are frequently applied to the same events ; and with the exception of some obvious mistakes in the publication in the *Archæologia*,* the same names, dates, and numbers—as, for instance, the numbers of killed in the several battles, and the numbers of the troops engaged, as to

* For example, in p. 20, for the Earl of Exeter, read the Earl of Essex. In p. 21, the death of Henry VI. is said to have occurred on the 24th of the said month of *June* ; May is the only month which can be alluded to, and the

which there is the greatest discrepancy in all the other accounts, are exactly the same.

The identity of the two narratives, the one as the original, and the other as an abridgment of it, lifeless, uninteresting, and almost useless for historical purposes, but still an abridgment of the more important work now published, being established, we become secure both as to the age and authority of the present work; and if we inquire further whether its contents be of sufficient importance to justify its publication, the result will be most satisfactory.

The events to which it relates have few parallels in history. A fugitive and an exile, Edward IV. at the commencement of the year 1471, seemed to have lost all present chance of restoration. The imbecility of the actual monarch was amply compensated by the vigour of the Earl of Warwick, the principal regent, a nobleman whose importance both parties in the state had by turns seen ample reason to appreciate, and whose present measures gave sufficient indication of the energy with which he was prepared to defend the throne he had raised. The inhabitants of the eastern coast, from the Thames to the borders of Scotland, were raised and arrayed to oppose any hostile landing; the Duke of Clarence, one of Edward's brothers, was

day in our MS. is the 23d. Upon that point, it would be satisfactory if the Ghent MS. were again consulted. In p. 22, the battle of Tewkesbury is dated on the 14th of May, instead of the 4th.

bound to the restored dynasty by being associated, according to some of the authorities, with the Earl of Warwick in the regency, by a marriage with Warwick's elder daughter, and by a parliamentary entailment of the crown upon him, in exclusion of his elder brother, in case of failure of the descendants of Henry VI.; and the new order of things was further strengthened, and the three great families of Lancaster, York, and Neville bound together, as it were, with a triple cord, by the union of the Prince of Wales with Warwick's younger daughter, the sister of the Duchess of Clarence. Nor was there wanting that only sure foundation for the throne—the affection of the great majority of the people. The simplicity and meek piety of Henry; the generous hospitality of Warwick; the hard fortunes of the youthful Prince of Wales; the licentiousness of Edward the Fourth's life; his undignified marriage; and the unpopularity of his friend Worcester, “the butcher of England;”* all these circumstances, operating upon various classes of the community, produced a wide-spread feeling in favour of the cause of Henry VI.

The aspect of affairs upon the Continent seemed equally encouraging to the House of Lancaster. The Duke of Burgundy, the only prince to whom Edward could look for support, was little likely to enter warmly into his cause; for, although married to his sister, he was connected by relationship with

* Fabyan, 659.

Henry VI. and was involved in a war with France, which would become doubly perilous if, upon any opposition to the Lancastrian party, the influence of England were thrown into the scale against him.

Whilst every thing seemed thus secure and prosperous, Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales prepared to pass into England. Warwick went to the sea coast to receive them; and, if they had landed at that time, their progress to the capital would have resembled a triumph. Detained on the coast of Normandy from February until April by the unusual boisterousness of the weather, they at length, with some difficulty, secured a landing at Weymouth; and what were the tidings with which they were greeted? That, amidst the tempests by which they had been detained, Edward and a small band of followers had landed in the north amongst a people up in arms to oppose him, but whom he had deceived by false representations of the purpose of his coming; that he had obtained possession of the metropolis and of the person of the King; that Clarence—"false, fleeting, perjured Clarence"—had deserted the cause of Lancaster; that a great battle had been fought; and that Warwick, the centre of all their hopes, had been defeated and killed. "When," says Hall, paraphrasing the words of Polydore Vergil, "when she harde all these miserable chaunces and misfortunes, so sudainly, one in another's necke, to have taken effect, she like a woman all dismaied for feare, fell to the ground, her harte was perced with

sorowe, her speache was in a manner passed, all her spirits were tormented with malencholy." *

The remainder of the story may be soon told. The friends of the House of Lancaster gathered around the Queen and Prince; a considerable force was raised; a strong position was taken near Tewkesbury; and on the fourth of May 1471 the two armies met. The results were fatal to the House of Lancaster. The Prince of Wales was killed; after the battle, sixteen of his principal adherents were selected from amongst the prisoners and beheaded; and Edward returned to London, bearing Margaret with him as a captive.

One death more brought the tragedy to a close. Edward IV. entered London on the 21st of May, and on the 23rd, according to the following narrative, Henry VI. died in the Tower "of pure displeasure and melancoly."

The interest which attaches to the persons and situations of the chief actors in these events; the controversies to which the events themselves have given rise; the picture they present of the state of moral degradation to which the English people were reduced by the long civil war,—to which alone Edward's rapid recovery of the throne and the success of the deceptions and crimes by which it was accompanied are to be attributed,—are quite sufficient to justify the addition to our historical authorities of a writer whose means of information were more

* Hall, p. 297.

ample, and whose narrative is anterior in date to any that we possess.

The deaths of the Prince of Wales and Henry VI. are popularly considered to constitute deep blots upon the escutcheon of the House of York ; and although the acuteness of some modern writers has a little shaken the general faith in the justice of the share in those deaths attributed to the Duke of Gloucester, it has not at all affected the almost universal belief that those Princes were murdered—and murdered through the instrumentality of the heads of the House of York. In the following pages we have a representation of the facts relating to both those deaths set forth by the Yorkists themselves, within a few days after their occurrence, and before the public mind had been filled with the rumours which were soon afloat. This is not the place in which to enter upon any disquisition as to the manner in which the Yorkist narrative affects their cause ; at any event, we shall all agree that they ought to be heard. In the notes, I have brought together the statements of the various contemporary authorities relating to the deaths of the Prince and Henry VI. ; and the juxta-position will not only be useful to those who are desirous to approximate towards the truth, but, by displaying the contradictions between the existing authorities, will be found to prove the importance of obtaining further information.

The fate of the following narrative has been singular. Adopted as we have seen by Edward IV., and an abridgment of it trans-

lated and sent abroad at the time it was written, it either remained unknown to the English writers of the period, or was considered to be too entirely Yorkist in its tone and spirit to be used during the subsequent ascendancy of the House of Lancaster. After the lapse of a century, a MS. of it is ascertained to have been extant in the library of Fleetwood, the well-known Recorder of London in the time of Queen Elizabeth; and from that MS. Fleetwood, without acknowledging his authority, compiled a narrative of Edward's restoration, which was inserted in Holinshed's Chronicle,* and is referred to its author by the name "W. Fleetwood" in the margin. In passing under Fleetwood's hand, the orthography was modernised, many passages were omitted, many softened, and in some of the most important places the narrative of Hall, translated from Polydore Vergil, was adopted as "more pleasing to Lancastrian ear." After it had been thus diluted by Fleetwood, it received an infusion of Lancastrian spirit from Abraham Fleming, the editor of that part of Holinshed, who interpolated a number of passages from Stowe, derived from the Chronicler with whom we are made acquainted by the extracts in Leland's Collectanea. In these various ways the red rose was blanched, the colour of the narrative was changed in all its more important passages, and the servant of Edward IV. was transformed into a Lancastrian Chronicler.

* Vol. III. p. 303, Edit. 1808.

It was through the partial representation in Holinshed alone, that the facts contained in this narrative were at all known, until Mr. Sharon Turner, whose endeavours to discover MS. historical authorities cannot be too highly praised, drew attention to the narrative itself, by using and commending it in his History of England during the Middle Ages.* To that work I am indebted for my first knowledge of it; and I am not aware that it has ever been noticed by any other writer.

What became of Fleetwood's MSS. is not, I believe, known; but Stowe, who had access to them, made a copy of the original of the following paper, and that copy, written in the small clear hand of the Chronicler, found its way into the Harleian Library through Sir Symonds D'Ewes. It now forms the third article, in a small quarto volume of Stowe's Transcripts, numbered 543, amongst the Harleian MSS. It commences on folio 31, and is thus described in a title page written by another hand; "The Historie of the arrivall of King E. 4. in England, and the finall recouerie of his Kingdomes from H. 6. in A°. Dⁱ. 1471. Written by an Anonymus whoe was liuing at the same time and a seruant to the saied King E. 4. Transcribed by John Stowe the Chronicler with his owne hand." The work now published is a copy of Stowe's MS.

I cannot conclude without an expression of my thanks to the

* Vol. III. p. 281. Edition 1830, 8vo.

Council of the Camden Society for the readiness with which they adopted my suggestion for the publication of this Document, and also for the kind assistance I have received from them whilst it has been passing through the press.

8th May 1838.

JOHN BRUCE.

THE
HISTORIE
OF THE
ARRIVALL OF KING EDWARD IV.
A.D. 1471.

Here after folowethe the mannar how the moaste noble and right victorious prince Edwarde, by the grace of God, Kinge of England and of Fraunce, and Lord of Irland, in the yere of grace 1471, in the monethe of Marche, departed out of Zeland; toke the sea; aryved in England; and, by his force and valliannes, of newe redewced and reconqueryd the sayde realme, upon and agaynst th'Erle of Warwicke, his traytor and rebell, calling himselfe Lievetenaunte of England, by pretended auctoritie of the usurpowre Henry, and his complices; and, also, upon and agains Edward, callynge hymselfe prince of Wales, sonne to the sayde Henry than wrongfully occupienge the Royme and Crowne of England; and, upon many othar greate and myghty Lords, noble men, and othar, beinge mightily accompaigned. Compiled and put in this forme suinge, by a servaunt of the Kyngs, that presently saw in effect a great parte of his exploytes, and the resydewe knewe by true relation of them that were present at every tyme.

IN the yere of grace 1471, after the comptinge of the church of England, the ij. day of Marche, endynge the x. yere of the reigne of our soveraign Lord Kynge Edwarde the IV. by the grace of God Kynge of England and of Fraunce, and Lord of Irland, the sayde moaste noble kynge accompanied with ij thowsand Englyshe men, well chosen, entendynge to passe the sea, and to reentar and recovar his realme of England, at that tyme usurpyd and occupied by Henry, callyd Henry the VI., by the tray-

torous meanes of his greate rebell Richard, Erle of Warwicke, and his complices, entred into his shipe, afore the haven of Flisshinge, in Zeland, the sayde ij. day of Marche; and, forasmoche as aftar he was in the shippe, and the felowshipe also, with all that to them appertayned, the wynd fell not good for hym, he therefore wold not retorne agayne to the land, but abode in his shipe, and all his felowshipe in lyke wyse, by the space of ix dayes, abydyng good wynde and wether; whiche had the xj. daye of Marche, he made saile, and so did all the shipps that awayted upon hym, takyng theyr cowrse streyght over [towards] the coste of Norfolke, and came before Crowmere, the Tusedaye, agayne even, the xij. day of Marche; whithar the Kynge sent on land Ser Robart Chambarlayne, Syr Gilbert Debenham, Knyghts, and othar, trustinge by them to have some knowledge how the land inward was disposed towards hym, and, specially, the countries there nere adioyninge, as in party so they browght hym knowledge from suche as for that caws wer sent into thos parties, from his trew servaunts and partakars within the land, whiche tolde them, for certayne, that thos parties wer right sore beset by th'Erle of Warwyke, and his adherents, and, in especiall, by th'Erle of Oxenforde, in such wyse that, of lyklyhood, it might not be for his wele to lande in that contrye; and a great cawse was, for the Duke of Norfolke was had owt of the contrye, and all the gentlemen to whom th'Erle of Warwyke bare any suspicion ware, afore that, sent for by letars of privie seale, and put in warde about London, or els found suerty; natheles, the sayd ij Knyghts, and they that came on land with them, had right good chere, and turned agayne to the sea. Whos report herd, the Kynge garte make course towards the north parties. The same night followinge, upon the morne, Wenesday, and Thursday the xiiij. daye of Marche, fell great stormes, wynds and tempests upon the sea, so that the sayde xiiij. day, in great torment, he came to Humbrehede, where the othar shipps were dissevered from hym, and every from other, so that, of necessitye, they were dryven to land, every fere from other. The Kynge, with his shippe aloone, wherein was the Lord Hastings, his Chambarlayne, and other to the nombar of v^c well chosen men, landed within Humber, on Holdernes syde, at a place callyd Ravensporne, even in the same place where somtime the Usurpowr Henry of Derby, aftar called Kynge Henry the IV. landed, aftar his exile, contrary and to the dissobeysance of his sovereyne lord, Kynge Richard the II.

whome, after that, he wrongfully distressed, and put from his reigne and regalie, and usurped it falsely to hymselfe and to his isswe, from whome was linially descended Kynge Henry, at this tyme usinge and usurpinge the corone, as sonne to his eldest sonne, somtyme callyd Kynge Henry the V. The Kyng's brothar Richard, Duke of Glowcestar, and, in his company, iij^cmen, landyd at an othar place iij myle from thens. The Earle Rivers, and the felowshipe beinge in his companye, to the nombar of ij^c, landyd at a place called Powle, xiiij myle from there the Kynge landyd, and the reminaunt of the felowshipe wher they myght best get land. That night the Kynge was lodgyd at a power village, ij myle from his landyng, with a few with hym; but that nyght, and in the morninge, the resydewe that were comen in his shipe, the rage of the tempest somewhate appeasyd, landyd and alwaye drewe towards the Kynge. And on the morne, the xv. day of Marche, from every landyng place the felowshipe came hoole toward hym. As to the folks of the countrye there came but right few to hym, or almost none, for, by the scuringe of suche persons as for that cawse were, by his said rebells, sent afore into thos partes for to move them to be agains his highnes, the people were sore endwsed to be contrary to hym, and not to receyve, ne accepe hym, as for theyr Kynge; natwithstondyng, for the love and favour that before they had borne to the prince of fulnoble memorye, his father, Duke of Yorke, the people bare hym right great favowr to be also Duke of Yorke, and to have that of right apartayned unto hym, by the right of the sayde noble prince his fathar. And, upon this opinion, the people of the countrie, whiche in greate nombar, and in dyvars placis, were gatheryd, and in harnes, redye to resiste hym in chalenginge of the Royme and the crowne, were disposyd to content them selfe, and in noo wyse to annoy hym, ne his felowshipe, they affirmyng that to such entent were [they] comen, and none othar. Whereupon, the hoole felowshipe of the Kyngs comen and assembled togethar, he toke advise what was best to doo, and concludyd brifely, that, albe it his enemies and chefe rebells were in the sowthe partes, at London and ther about, and that the next way towards them had be by Lyncolneshire, yet, in asmooche as, yf they shulde have taken that waye, they must have gon eft sones to the watar agayne, and passyd ovar Humbar, whiche they abhoryd for to doo; and also, for that, yf they so dyd it would have be thowght that they had withdrawe them for feare, which note of sklaundar

they wer right lothe to suffar; for thes, and othar goode considerations, they determind in themselves not to goo agayne to the watar, but to holde the right waye to his City of Yorke. The Kynge determind also, that, for as longe as he shuld be in passynge thurgh and by the contrye, and to the tyme that he myght, by th'assistaunce of his trew servaunts, subiects and lovars, whiche he trustyd veryly in his progres shuld come unto hym, be of suche myght and puissaunce as that were lykly to make a sufficient party, he, and all thos of his felowshipe, shuld noyse, and say openly, where so evar they came, that his entent and purpos was only to claime to be Duke of Yorke, and to have and enioy th'enheritaunce that he was borne unto, by the right of the full noble prince his fathar, and none othar. Thwrghe whiche noysynge the people of the contrye that were gatheryd and assembled in dyvars placis, to the number of vi or vij thowsand men, by the ledinge and gwydyng of a priste the vycar of _____, in one place, and a gentleman of the same contrye, callyd, Martyn of the See, to th'entent to have resisted and lettyd hym his passage, by the stiringe of his rebells, theyr complices, and adherents, toke occasyon to owe and beare hym favowre in that qwarell, not discoveringe, ne remembringe, that his sayd fathar, bisydes that he was rightfully Duke of Yorke, he was also verrey trew and rightwise enheritoure to the roylme and corone of England &c. and so he was declared by [the] iij astates of the land, at a parliament holden at Westmynster, unto this day never repelled, ne revoked. And, under this manar, he kepinge furthe his purpos with all his felowshipe, toke the right way to a gode towne called Beverley, being in his high way towards Yorke. He sent to an othar gode towne, walled, but vj myle thens, called Kyngstown upon Hull, desyringe th'enhabitants to have openyd it unto hym, but they refused so to doo, by the meanes and stirings of his rebells, whiche aforne had sent thethar, and to all the contrye, strict commandements willing, and also charginge, them, at all their powers, to withstonde the Kinge, in caase he there aryved. And, therefore, levinge that towne, he kept his way furthe streight to Yorke. And nere this way were also assembled great compaignies in divars places, mucche people of the contrie, as it was reported, but they cam not in syght, but all they suffred hym to pas forthe by the contrye; eythar, for that he and all his felowshipe pretendyd by any manar langage none othar qwarell but for the right that was his fathars, the Duke of Yorke; or ells, for that, thowghe they were

in nombar mo than he, yet they durst not take upon them to make hym any manifest warre, knowynge well the great curage and hardines that he was of, with the parfete asswraunce of the felowshipe that was with hym; or ells, paradventure, for that certayne of theyr capitaines and gadrers were some whate enduced to be the more benivolent for money that the Kynge gave them; wherfore the Kynge, keping furthe his way, cam beforn Yorke, Monday the xvij. day of the same monithe. Trewthe it is that aforne the Kynge came at the citie, by iij myles, came unto him one callyd Thomas Coniers, Recordar of the citie, whiche had not bene afore that named trwe to the Kyngs partie. He tolde hym that it was not good for hym to come to the citie, for eyther he shuld not be suffred to enter, or els, in caas he enteryd, he was lost, and undone, and all his. The Kynge, seeing so forthly he was in his iorney that in no wyse he might goo backe with that he had begone, and that no good myght folowe but only of hardies, decreed in hymselfe constantly to purswe that he had begon, and rather to abyde what God and good fortune woulde gyve hym, thowghe it were to hym uncertayne, rather than by laches, or defaulte of curage, to susteyne reprooche, that of lyklihode therby shulde have ensued; And so, therfore, notwithstondynge the discouraginge words of the Recordar, which had be afore suspecte to hym and his partie, he kept boldely forthe his iorney, streyght towards the citie. And, within a while, came to hym, owt of the citie, Robart Clifford and Richard Burghe, whiche gave hym and his felowshipe bettar comforte, affirmyng, that in the qwarell aforesayde of his father the Duke of Yorke, he shuld be receyvyd and sufferyd to passe; whereby, better somewhate encoragyng, he kepte his waye; natheles efte sonnes cam the sayde Coniers, and put hym in lyke discomforte as afore. And so, sometyme comfortyd and sometyme discomfortyd, he came to the gates afore the citie, where his felashipe made a stoppe, and himself and xvj or xvij persons, in the ledinge of the sayde Clifford and Richard Burgh, passed even in at the gates, and came to the worshipfull folks whiche were assembled a little within the gates, and shewed them th'entent and purpos of his comming, in suche forme, and with such maner langage, that the people contentyd them therwithe, and so receyvyd hym, and all his felowshipe, that night, when he and all his felowshipe abode and were refreshed well to they had dynd on the morne, and than departed out of the cite to Tadcastar, a towne of th'Erls of Northumbarland, x mile sowth-

wards. And, on the morow after that, he toke his waye towards Wakefelde and Sendall, a grete lordshipe appartayninge to the Duke of Yorke, leving the Castell of Pomfrete on his lefte hand, wher abode, and was, the Marqwes Montagwe, that in no wyse trowbled hym, ne none of his fellowshipe, but sufferyd hym to passe in peasceable wyse, were it with good will, or noo, men may iuge at theyr pleaswre; I deme ye; but, trouth it is, that he ne had nat, ne cowthe not have gatheryd, ne made, a felashipe of nombar sufficient to have openly resistyd hym in hys qwarell, ne in Kyng Henries qwarell; and one great caws was, for great partie of the people in thos partis lovyd the Kyngs person well, and cowthe nat be encoragyd directly to doo agayne hym in that qwarell of the Duke of Yorke, which in almannar langage of all his fellowshipe was covertly pretendyd, and none othar. An othar grete cawse was, for grete partye of [the] noble men and comons in thos parties were towards th'Erle of Northumbarland, and would not stire with any lorde or noble man other than with the sayde Earle, or at leaste by his commandement. And, for soo muche as he sat still, in suche wise that yf the Marques wolde have done his besines to have assembled them in any manier qwarell, neither for his love, whiche they bare hym non, ne for any commandement of higher auctoritie, they ne wolde in no cawse, ne qwarell, have assisted hym. Wherein it may right well appere, that the said Erle, in this behalfe, dyd the Kynge right gode and notable service, and, as it is deemed in the conceipts of many men, he cowthe nat hav done hym any beter service, ne not thowghe he had openly declared hym selfe extremly parte-takar with the Kynge in his rightwys qwarell, and, for that entent, have gatheryd and assemblyd all the people that he might have made; for, how be it he loved the Kynge trewly and perfectly, as the Kynge thereof had certayne knowledge, and wolde, as of himselfe and all his power, have served hym trwely, yet was it demyd, and lykly it was to be trewe, that many gentlemen, and othar, whiche would have be araysed by him, woulde not so fully and extremly have determyned them selfe in the Kyng's right and qwarell as th'Erle wolde have done hymselfe; havyng in theyr freshe remembraunce, how that the Kynge, at the first entrie-winning of his right to the Royme and Crowne of England, had and won a great battaile in those same parties, where theyr Maistar, th'Erlls fathar, was slayne, many of theyr fathars, theyr sonns, theyr britherne, and kynsemen, and othar many of theyr neighborws;

wherefore, and nat without cawse, it was thowght that they cowthe nat have borne verrey good will, and done theyr best service, to the Kynge, at this tyme, and in this quarell. And so it may be resonably judged that this was a notable good service, and politiquely done, by th'Erle. For his sit-tynge still caused the citie of Yorke to do as they dyd, and no werse, and every man in all thos northe partes to sit still also, and suffre the Kynge to passe as he dyd, nat with standynge many were right evill disposed of them selfe agaynes the Kynge, and, in especiall, in his qwarell. Wherefore the Kynge may say as Julius Cesar sayde, he that is nat agaynst me is with me. And othar right greate cause why the Marqwes made nat a felawshippe agaynst hym for to have trowbled hym [was], for thowghe all the Kynges [felowshipe] at that season were nat many in nombar, yet they were so habiled, and so well piked men, and, in theyr werke they hadd on hand, so willed, that it had bene right hard to right-a-great felashipe, moche greater than they, or gretar than that the Marquis, or his frends, at that tyme, cowthe have made, or assembled, to have put the Kynge and his sayde felawshipe to any distresse. And othar cawse [was,] where as he cam thrwghe the cuntre there, the people toke an opinion, that yf the people of the contries wherethrwghe he had passed aforne, had owght him any mannar of malice, or evill will, they would some what have shewed it whan he was amongs them, but, inasmoche as no man had so don aforne, it was a declaration and evidence to all thos by whome he passyd after, that in all the othar contries wer none but his goode lovars; and greate foly it had bene to the lattar contries to have attempted that the former contries would not, thinkynge verilie that, in suche case, they, as his lovars, would rathar have ayded hym thann he shulde have bene distressed; wherefore he passed with moche bettar will.

Abowte Wakefylde, and in thos parties, came some folks unto hym, but not so many as he supposed wolde have comen; nevarthelesse his nombar was encreasyed. And so from thens he passyd forthe to Doncastar, and so forthe to Notyngham. And to that towne came unto hym two good Knyghts, Syr William Parre, and Ser James Harington, with two good bands of men, well arrayed, and habled for warr, the nombar of vi^c men.

The Kynge, beinge at Notyngham, and or he came there, sent the scorers alabowte the contries adioynynge, to asprie and serche yf any gaderyngs were in any place agaynst hym; some of whome came to

Newerke, and undarstode well that there was, within the towne, the Duke of Excestar, th'Erle of Oxforde, the Lord Bardolf, and othar, with great felowshipe, which th'Erle and they had gatheryd in Essex, in Northfolke, Sowthfolke, Cambridgeshire, Huntynghdonshire, and Lyncolneshire, to the nombar of iiij^m men. The sayde Duke and Erll, havynge knowledge that the sayde forrydars of the Kyngs had bene aforne the towne in the evenynge, thinkynge verily that the Kynge, and his hole hoste, were approachinge nere, and would have come upon them, determyned shortly within themselfe that [they] might not abyde his comynge. Wherefore, erly, abowte two of the cloke in the mornynge, they fledde out of the towne, and ther they lost parte of the people that they had gatheryd and browght with them thethar. Trewthe it was, that, whan the Kynges aforne-ridars had thus espyed theyr beinge, they acertaynyd the Kynge therof, at Notyngham, which, incontinent, assembled all his felowshipe, and toke the streyght waye to-them-wards, within three myle of the towne. And, there, came to hym certayne tydings that they were fledd owt of Newerke, gonn, and disperpled; wherefore he returnyd agayne to Notyngham, determyned to kepe the next and right way towards his sayd great Rebell, th'Erle of Warwike, the which he knew well was departyd out of London, and comen into Warwikeshire, where he besterd hym, and in the countries nere adioynynge, t'assemble all that he myght, to th'entent to have made a myghty filde agaynst the Kynge, and to have distressyd hym. Wherefore, from Notyngham, the Kynge toke the streyght way towards hym, by Leicestre; but, as sonne as he hard of the Kyngs comynge onwards, and approachinge nere, eythar for that hym thowght not to be of swfficient powere to gyve hym batayle in that playne filde, or els, for that he lacked hardines and cowrage soo to doo, albe it he had assembled greater nombar than the Kynge had at that tyme; for by the pretended auctoritie of Henry, than callyd Kynge, he was constitute Lievetenaunt of England, and, whereas he cowthe nat arrayse the people with good will, he streyghtly charged them to come forthe upon payne of deathe; he withdrew hymselfe, and all his felowshipe, into a strong wallyd towne there nere by hym, callyd Coventrye.

At Leycestar came to the Kynge ryght-a-fayre felowshipe of folks, to the nombar of iij^m men, well habyled for the wers, suche as were verily to be trustyd, as thos that woulde uttarily inparte with hym at beste and

worste in his qwarell, withe all theyr force and myght to do hym theyr trew service. And, in substaunce, they were suche as were towards the Lorde Hastings, the Kyngs Chambarlayne, and, for that entent above sayd, came to hym, stiryd by his messages sent unto them, and by his servants, frinds, and lovars, suche as were in the contrie.

And so, bettar accompanied than he had bene at any tyme aforene, he departyd from Leycestar, and cam before the towne of Coventrie, the xxix. day of Marche. And when he undarstode the sayde Earle within the towne [was] closyd, and with hym great people, to the nombar of vj or vij ^m men, the Kynge desyred hym to come owte, with all his people, into the filde, to determyne his qwarell in playne felde, which the same Earle refused to do at that tyme, and so he dyd iij dayes aftar-ensuinge continually. The Kynge, seinge this, drwe hym and all his hooste strenght to Warwike, viij small myles from thens, where he was receyvyd as Kynge, and so made his proclamations from that tyme forthe wards; where he toke his lodgyngs, wenyng thereby to have gyven the sayde Earle gretar cowrage to have yssyed owte of the towne of Coventrye, and to have taken the felde, but he ne would so doo. Nathelesse dayly came certayne personns on the sayde Erlls behalve to the Kynge, and made greate moynes, and desired him to treat withe hym, for some gode and expedient appoyntment. And, how be it the Kynge, by the advise of his Counseylors, graunted the sayd Erle his lyfe, and all his people beinge there at that tyme, and dyvers othar fayre offers made hym, consythar his great and haynows offenses; which semyd resonable, and that for the wele of peax and tranquillitie of the Realme of England, and for ther-by to avoyde th'effusyon of Christen bloode, yet he ne woulde accepte the sayde offars, ne accorde thereunto, but yf he myght have had suche apoyntment unreasonable as myght nat in eny wyse stande with the Kyngs honowr and swretye.

Here is to be remembrede how that, at suche season aforene, as whan the Kynge was in Holand, the Duke of Clarence, the Kyngs second brother, consyderinge the great inconveniences whereunto as well his brother the Kynge, he, and his brother the Duke of Glocestar, were fallen unto, thrwghe and by the devisyon that was betwixt them, whereunto, by the subtile compassynge of th'Erle of Warwike, and his complices, they

were brought, and enduced ; as, first to be remembred, the disheritinge of them all from the Royme and Crowne of England, and that therto apperteynyd ; and, besyds that, the mortall warre and detestable, lykely to falle betwixt them ; and, ovar this, that yt was evident that to what party so evar God woulde graunte the victorie, that, notwithstandinge, the wynner shuld nat be in eny bettar suerty therefore of his owne estate and parson, but abyde in as greate, or greater, dangar than they wer in at that tyme. And, in especiall, he considred well, that hymselfe was had in great suspicion, despite, disdeigne, and hated, with all the lordes, noblemen, and othar, that were adherents and full partakers with Henry, the Usurpar, Margaret his wyfe, and his sonne Edward, called Prince ; he sawe also, that they dayly laboryd amongs them, brekyng theyr appoyntments made with hym, and, of lyklihed, after that, shuld continually more and more fervently entend, conspire, and procure the distruction of hym, and of all his blode, wherethrwghe it apperyd also, that the Roylme and Regalie shuld remaygne to suche as thereunto myght nat in eny wyse have eny rightwyse title. And, for that it was unnaturall, and agaynes God, to suffar any suche werre to continew and endure betwixt them, yf it myght otharwyse be, and, for othar many and great considerations, that by right wyse men and virtuex were layed afore hym, in many behalfs, he was agreed to entend to some good apointment for this pacification. By right covert wayes and meanes were goode mediators, and mediatricis, the highe and myghty princis my Lady, theyr mothar ; my lady of Exceter, my lady of Southfolke, theyre systars ; my Lord Cardinall of Cantorbery ; my Lord of Bathe ; my Lord of Essex ; and, moste specially, my Lady of Bourgoigne ; and othar, by mediacions of certayne priests, and othar well disposyd parsouns. Abowte the Kyngs beinge in Holland, and in other partes beyond the sea, great and diligent labowre, with all effect, was continually made by the high and mighty princesse, the Duches of Bowrgine, which at no season ceasyd to send hir sarvaunts, and messengars, to the Kyng, wher he was, and to my sayd Lorde of Clarence, into England ; and so dyd his verrey good devowre in that behalfe my Lord of Hastings, the Kyng's Chambarlayne, so that a perfecte accord was appoyntyed, accordyd, concludyd, and assured, betwixt them ; wherein the sayde Duke of Clarence full honorably and trwly acquitted hym ; for, as sune as he was ascertavngned of the Kyngs arivall in the north parties, he assembled anon

suche as would do for hym, and, assone as he godly myght, drew towards the Kynge, hym to ayde and assyste agaynste all his enemyes, accompanied with mo than iiii^m.

The Kynge, that tyme beinge at Warwyke, and undarstondynge his neere approachinge, upon an aftarnone isswyd out of Warwike, with all his felowshipe, by the space of three myles, into a fayre fylde towards Banbery, where he saw the Duke, his brothar, in faire array, come towards hym, with a greate felashipe. And, whan they were togedars, within lesse than an halfe myle, the Kynge set his people in aray, the bannars [displayed] and lefte them standynge still, takynge with hym his brothar of Glocestar, the Lord Rivers, Lord Hastings, and fewe othar, and went towarde his brothar of Clarence. And, in lyke wyse, the Duke, for his partye takynge with hym a fewe noble men, and levinge his hoost in good order, departyd from them towards the Kynge. And so they mett betwixt both hostes, where was right kynde and lovyng language betwixt them twoo, with parfite accord knyht togethars for evar here aftar, with as hartly lovyng chere and countenaunce, as might be betwix two bretherne of so grete nobley and astate. And than, in lyke wyse, spake togethar the two Dukes of Clarence and Glocestar, and, aftar, the othar noble men beinge there with them, whereof all the people there that lovyd them, and awght them theyr trew service, were right glade and ioyows, and thanked God highly of that ioyows metynge, unitie, and accorde, hopynge that, therby, shuld growe unto them prosperows fortune, in all that they shuld aftar that have a doo. And than the trompetts and minstrels blewe uppe, and, with that, the Kynge browght his brothar Clarence, and suche as were there with hym, to his felowshipe, whom the sayd Duke welcomyd into the land in his best manner, and they thanked God, and hym, and honoryd hym as it apparteygned.

Aftar this, the Kynge, yet levinge his hooste standynge still, with the sayd few persons went with his brothar of Clarence to his hoste, whome he hertily welcomyd, and promised hym largely of his grace and good love, and, from thens, they all came hoole togethars to the Kyngs hooste, when ethar party welcomyd and jocundly receyvyd othar, with perfect frindlynes; and, so, with greate gladnes, bothe hostes, with theyr princes, togethars went to Warwyke, with the Kynge, and ther lodged, and in the countrie nere adioynge.

Sone aftar this the Duke of Clarence, beinge right desyrows to have pro-

curyd a goode accorde betwyxt the Kynge and th'Erle of Warwyke; not only for th'Erle, but also for to reconsyle therby unto the Kyngs good grace many lordes and noble men of his land, of whom many had largely taken parte with th'Erle; and this for the weale of peax and tranquillitie in the land, and in advoydyng of cruell and mortall were, that, of the contrary, was lykly, in shortyme, to enswe; he made, therefore, his mocions, as well to the Kynge as to th'Erle, by messagis sendyng to and fro, bothe for the well above sayde, as to acquite hym trwly and kyndly in the love he bare unto hym, and his blood, whereunto he was allied by the marriage of his dowghter. The Kynge, at th'ynstaunce of his sayd brother, the Duke, was content to shew hym largely his grace, with dyvars good condicions, and profitable for th'Erle yf that he woulde have acceptyd them. But th'Erle, whether he in maner dispaired of any good pardurable continuance of good accord betwixt the Kynge and hym, for tyme to come, consyderinge so great attempts by hym comytted agaynst the Kynge; or els, for that willinge to enterteigne the greate promises, pacts, and othes, to the contrary, made solempnly, and also priuately sworne, to the Frenche Kynge, Qwene Margarete, and hir sonne Edward, in the qwarell of them, and of his owne seching, wherefrom he ne couthe departe, without grete desklaundar; or els, for that he had afore thowght, and therefore purveyed, that, in caase he myght nat get to have the owar-hand of the Kynge, his meanes were founden of sure and certayne escape by the sea to Calais, whiche was enswryd to hym selfe in every caas that myght hape hym, so that it myght fortwne hym for to come thethar; or els, for that certayne parsons beinge with hym in companye, as th'Erle of Oxenforde, and othar, beinge desposed in extrem malice agaynst the Kynge, wolde not suffre hym t'accepte any mannar of appoyntment, were it resonable or unresonable, but causyd hym to refuse almannar of appointments; whiche as many men deme was the verray cawse of none acceptinge of the Kyngs [grace]; wherefore all suche treaty brake and toke none effecte.

In this meane season of the Kyngs beinge at Warwyke, cam to the Erle of Warwyke, to Coventrye, the Duke of Excestar, the Marques Mountagwe, th'Erle of Oxenforde, with many othar in great nombar, by whos than commynge dayly grew and encreasyd the felowshiipe of that partye. The Kynge, withe his brithern, this consyderinge, and that in no wyse he cowthe provoke hym to come owt of the towne, ne thinkynge

it behooffoll to assayll, ne to tary for the asseginge therof; as well for avoydaunce of greate slaghtars that shuld therby enswe, and for that it was thowght more expedient to them to draw towards London, and there, with helpe of God, and th'assystaunce of his trwe lords, lovares, and servaunts, whiche were there, in thos partes, in great nombar; knowynge also, that his principall advarsarye, Henry, with many his partakers, were at London, ther usurpyng and usynge the authoritie royall, which barred and letted the Kyng of many aydes and assystaunces, that he shuld and mowght hav had, in divars parties, yf he myght ones shew hymselfe of powere to breke their auctoritie; wherefore, by th'advyse of his sayd brethren, and othar of his counsell, he toke his purpos to London wards, and so departyd fro Warwicke; yet, efte sones, shewing hym, and his hoste, before Coventrie, and desyringe the sayd Erle, and his felashipe, to come owte, and for to determyne his qwarell by battayle, whiche he and they utterly refused, wherefore the Kynge and his brethern kept forthe theyr purpos sowthewardes. And this was the v. day of Aprell the Friday.

On the Satarday, the Kynge, with all his hooste, cam to a towne called Daventre, where the Kynge, with greate devocion, hard all divine service upon the morne, Palme-Sunday, in the parishe church, wher God, and Seint Anne, shewyd a fayre miracle; a goode pronostique of good aventure that aftar shuld befall unto the Kynge by the hand of God, and mediation of that holy matron Seynt Anne. For, so it was, that, afore that tyme, the Kynge, beinge out of his realme, in great trowble, thowght, and hevines, for the infortwne and adversitie that was fallen hym, full often, and, specially upon the sea, he prayed to God, owr Lady, and Seint George, and, amonges othar saynts, he specially prayed Seint Anne to helpe hym, where that he promysed, that, at the next tyme that it shuld hape hym to se any ymage of Seint Anne, he shuld therto make his prayers, and gyve his offeringe, in the honor and worshipec of that blessyd Saynte. So it fell, that, the same Palme Sunday, the Kynge went in procession, and all the people aftar, in goode devotion, as the service of that daye askethe, and, whan the processyon was comen into the church, and, by ordar of the service, were comen to that place where the vale shulbe drawne up afore the Roode, that all the people shall honor the Roode, with the anthem, *Ave*, three tymes begon, in a pillar of the church, directly afore the place where Kynge knelyd, and devoutly honoryd the Roode,

was a lytle ymage of Seint Anne, made of alleblastar, standynge fixed to the pillar, closed and clasped togethars with four bordes, small, payntyd, and gowynge rownd about the image, in manar of a compas, lyke as it is to see comonly, and all about, where as suche ymages be wont to be made for to be solde and set up in churches, chapells, crosses, and oratories, in many placis. And this ymage was thus shett, closed, and clasped, accordynge to the rulles that, in all the churchis of England, be observyd, all ymages to be hid from Ashe Wednesday to Estarday in the mornynge. And so the sayd ymage had bene from Ashwensday to that tyme. And even sodaynly, at that season of the service, the bords compassynge the ymage about gave a great crak, and a little openyd, whiche the Kynge well perceyveyd and all the people about hym. And anon, aftar, the bords drewe and closed togethars agayne, withowt any mans hand, or touchinge, and, as thowghe it had bene a thinge done with a violence, with a gretar might it openyd all abrod, and so the ymage stode, open and discovert, in syght of all the people there beynge. The Kynge, this seinge, thanked and honoryd God, and Seint Anne, takynge it for a good signe, and token of good and prosperous aventure that God wold send hym in that he had to do, and, remembringe his promyse, he honoryd God, and Seint Anne, in that same place, and gave his offrings. All thos, also, that were present and sawe this worshippyd and thanked God and Seint Anne, there, and many offeryd; takynge of this signe, shewed by the power of God, good hope of theyr good spede for to come.

The Kynge from that towne went to a good towne callyd Northampton, wher he was well receyved, and, from thens toke the next way towardes London, levyng alway behynd hym in his jowrney a good bande of speres and archars, his behynd-rydars, to countar, yf it had neded, suche of th'Erls partye as, peradventure, he shuld have sent to have trowbled hym on the bakhalfe, yf he so had done.

Here it is to be remembred, that, in this season of the Kyngs comynge towards and beinge at Warwyke, and of the comynge to hym of his brothar the Duke of Clarence, Edmond callynge hymselfe Duke of Somarset, John of Somarset his brother, callyd Marqwes Dorset, Thomas Courtney, callynge hym self th'Erle of Devonshire, beinge at London, had knowledge owt of Fraunce, that Qwene Margaret, and hir sonne, callyd Prince of Wales, the Countes of Warwyke, the Prior of Seint Johns, the

Lord Wenloke, with othar many, theyr adherents and parte-takers, with all that evar they myght make, were ready at the sea-syde commynge, purposynge to arive in the West Contrie; wherefore they departyd owt of London, and went into the west parties, and ther bestyrd them right greatly to make an assemblye of asmoche people for to receyve them at theyr comynge, them to accompany, fortyfy, and assyst, agaynst the Kynge, and all his partakars, in the qwarels of Henry, callyd Kynge, and occupyinge the regalie for that tym. And trew it was that she, hir sonne, the Countes of Warwike, the Lords, and othar of theyr fellowshipe, entryd their ships for that entent the xxiiij. of Marche, and so continuyd theyr abode in theyr ships, or they myght land in England, to the xiiij. day of Aprell, for defawlt of good wynd, and for grete tempests upon the sea, that time, as who saythe, continuyng by the space of xx dayes. But leve we this, and retorne agayne to the Kyngs progresse in his jowrney towards London, tellynge how that he came upon the Twesday, the ix. day of Aprill, from whens he sent comfortable messagis to the Qwene to Westminstar, and to his trew Lords, servaunts, and lovars, beyng at London; wherupon, by the moste covert meanes that they cowthe, [they] avised and practysed how that he myght be receyved and welcomyd at his sayde city of London. Th'Erle of Warwike, knowenge this his iowrneyng, and approching to London, sent his lettars to them of the citie, willinge and charyngge them to resyste him, and let the receyvynge of hym and of his. He wrote also to his brothar, th'Archbysshope of Yorke, desyryng hym to put hym in the uttarmoste devowr he cowthe, to provoke the citie agayns hym, and kepe hym owt, for two or three dayes; promisyng that he wolde not fayle to come with great puisance on the bakhalfe, trustinge utterly to dystrese and distroye hym and his, as to the same he had, by his othar writyngs, encharged the maior, and the aldermen, and the comons of the citie.

Hereupon, the ix. day of Aprell, th'Archbysshope callyd unto hym togethars, at Seint Powles, within the sayde Citie of London, suche lords, gentlemen, and othar, as were of that partye, [with] as many men in harneys of theyr servaunts and othar as they cowthe make, which, in all, passed nat in nombar vj or vij^m men, and, thereupon, cawsed Henry, callyd Kynge, to take an horse and ryde from Powles thwrghe Chepe, and so made a circute abowte to Walbroke, as the generall processyon of London hathe bene accustomed, and so returned agayne to Powles, to the Bysshops Palays,

where the sayd Henry at that tyme was lodged, supposynge, that, whan he had shewyd hym in this arraye, they shuld have provokyd the citizens, and th'enhabitants of the citie, to have stonde and comen to them, and fortified that partye; but, trewth it is, that the rewlars of the citie were at the counsell, and hadd set men at all the gates and wardes, and they, seynge by this manner of doinge, that the power of the sayde Henry, and his adherents, was so litle and feble as there and then was shewyd, they cowlde thereby take no corage to draw to them, ne to fortifye theyr partye, and, for that they fearyd, but rather the contrary, for so moche as they sawe well that, yf they wolde so have done, ther myght was so lytle that it was nat for them to have ones attemptyd to have resystid the Kynge in his comynge, whiche approched nere unto the citie, and was that nyght at Seint Albons. They also of the citie in great nombar, and, namly, of the moaste worshipfull, were fully disposed to favowr the Kynge, and to have the citie opne unto hym at his comynge. They of the citie also consideryd, that he was notably well accompanied with many good, hable, and well-willed men, whiche, for no power, nor no resistance that myght be made, would spare to attempt, and suporte, the takynge the citie, by all wayes possible; whereof they ne shuld have failled, consideringe that the Kynge at that tyme had many greate and myghty frinds, lovares, and servitors, within the sayd citie, whiche would not have fayled by dyvers enterprises have made the citie open unto hym; as this myght nat be unknowne unto right many of the sayde citie; and, also, as might appere by that was don aftar in that behalfe and to that entent. Thus, what for love that many bare to the Kynge, and what for drade that many men had, how that, in caas the citie shuld have bene wonne upon them by foarce, the citiensens shuld therefore have susteygned harmes and damagis irreparable, and for many othar great consyderations, the maior, aldarmen, and othar worshipfull of the citie, determined clerly amongs them selfe to kepe the citie for the Kynge, and to opne it to hym, at his comynge; as so they sent to hym that therein they would be gwydyd to his pleaswre. Th'Archebyshope of Yorke, undarstondynge the Kyngs commynge, and approchinge nere to the citie, sent secretly unto hym desyringe to be admittyd to his grace, and to be undar good appoyntement, promittynge therefore to do unto hym great pleaswre for his well and swertye; whereunto the Kynge, for good cawses and con-

siderations, agreed so to take hym to his grace. Th'Archbyshope, therof assuryd, was ryght well pleasyd, and therefore wele and trwlye acquite hym, in observynge the promyse that he had made to the Kynge in that behalfe.

The same nyght followynge the towre of London was taken for the Kyngs beholfe; whereby he had a playne entrie into the citie thowghe all they had not bene determyned to have receyvyd hym in, as they were. And on the morow, the Thursday, the xj. day of Aprell, the Kynge came, and had playne overture of the sayd citie, and rode streight to Powles church, and from thens went into the Byshops paleis, where th'Archbyshope of Yorke presentyd hym selfe to the Kyngs good grace, and, in his hand, the usurpowr, Kynge Henry; and there was the Kynge seasyd of hym and dyvars rebels. From Powles the Kynge went to Westmynstar, there honoryd, made his devout prayers, and gave thankyns to God, Saint Petre, and Saint Edward, and than went to the Qwene, and comfortyd hir; that had a longe tyme abyden and sojourned at Westmynstar, asswringe hir parson only by the great fraunchis of that holy place, in right great trowble, sorow, and hevines, whiche she sustayned with all maner pacience that belonged to eny creature, and as constantly as hathe bene sene at any tyme any of so highe estate to endure; in the whiche season natheles she had brought into this worlde, to the Kyngs greatyste joy, a fayre sonn, a prince, where with she presentyd hym at his comynge, to his herts synguler comforte and gladnes, and to all them that hym trewly loved and wolde serve. From thens, that nyght, the Kynge retornyd to London, and the Qwene with hym, and lodged at the lodgyng of my lady his mothar; where they harde devyne service that nyght, and upon the morne, Good Fryeday; where also, on the morn, the Kynge tooke advise of the great lords of his blood, and othar of his counsell, for the adventures that were lykely for to come.

Th'Erle of Warrewike, callynge hymselfe lievetenaunt of England, and so constitute by the pretended auctoritie of Kynge Henry, beyng at Coventrie, and undrestanding well that the Kynge wolde moche doo to be received in at London, and wist nat, in certeyne, ye or no, isshued owt of Coventrie with a great puissaunce, the lords, and all that he might make with hym, and, by Northampton, tooke their way aftar the Kynge, supposing verrelly to have had right great advantage upon hym by one of the

two waies ; eithar, that the citie shuld have kepte the Kynge owte, whiche failed ; or els, in caas he were received in, he shulde there [have] kepte and observyd the solempnitie of Estar, and, yf he so dyd, he thowght sodaynly to come upon hym, take hym, and distroy hym, and his people [to have] disceaveyed, but the Kynge, well advartised of this yvell and malicious purpos, dyd grate diligence to recountre hym, or he might come nere to the citie, as ferre from it as he goodly myght ; and, therefore, with a great armye, he departyd out of the citie of London towards hym, upon the Saturdaye, Ester's even, the xiiij. day of Aprell. And so he toke in his companye to the felde, Kynge Henrye ; and soo, that aftar none, he roode to Barnete, x myles owte of London, where his aforne-riders had founden the afore-riders of th'Erls of Warwikes hooste, and bet them, and chaced them out of the towne, more some what than an halfe myle ; when, undre an hedge-syde, were redy assembled a great people, in array, of th'Erls of Warwike. The Kynge, comynge aftar to the sayde towne, and undarstanding all this, wolde [ne] suffre one man to abyde in the same towne, but had them all to the field with hym, and drewe towards his enemies, without the towne. And, for it was right derke, and he myght not well se where his enemyes were enbataylled afore hym, he lodged hym, and all his hoste, afore them, moche nere[r] then he had supposed, but he toke nat his ground so even in the front afore them as he wold have don yf he might bettar have sene them, butt somewhate a-syden-hande, where he disposed all his people, in good arraye, all that nyght ; and so they kept them still, withowt any mannar language, or noyse, but as lytle as they well myght. Bothe parties had goons, and ordinaunce, but th'Erle of Warwike had many moo then the Kynge, and therefore, on the nyght, weninge gretly to have anoyed the Kinge, and his hooste, with shot of gonnes, th'Erls fiede shotte gunes almoste all the nyght. But, thanked be God ! it so fortunated that they alway ovarshote the Kyngs hoste, and hurtyd them nothings, and the cawse was the Kyngs hoste lay muche nerrar them than they demyd. And, with that also, the Kynge, and his hoste, kept passinge greate silence alnyght, and made, as who saythe, no noyse, whereby they might nat know the very place where they lay. And, for that they shulde not know it, the Kynge suffred no gonns to be shote on his syd, all that nyght, or els right fewe, whiche was to hym great advauntage, for, therby, they myght have esteemed the ground that he lay in, and have leveled their gunns nere.

On the morow, betymes, The Kynge, undarstandinge that the day approached nere, betwyxt four and five of the cloke, natwithstandynge there was a greate myste and letted the syght of eithar othar, yet he commytted his cawse and qwarell to Allmyghty God, avancyd bannars, dyd blowe up trumpets, and set upon them, firste with shotte, and, than and sone, they joyned and came to hand-strokes, wherein his enemies manly and coragiously receyved them, as well in shotte as in hand-stroks whan they ioyned; whiche ioynynge of theyr bothe batteyls was nat directly frount to frount, as they so shulde have ioyned ne had be the myste, whiche suffred neythar party to se othar, but for a litle space, and that of lyklyhod cawsed the bataile to be the more crewell and mortall; for, so it was, that the one ende of theyr batayle ovarrechyed th'end of the Kyngs battayle, and so, at that end, they were myche myghtyar than was the Kyngs bataile at the same [end] that ioyned with them, whiche was the west ende, and, therefore, upon that party of the Kyngs battayle, they had a gretar distres upon the Kyngs party, wherefore many fiede towards Barnet, and so forthe to London, or evar they lafte; and they fell in the chace of them, and dyd moche harme. But the other parties, and the residewe of neithar bataile, might se that distrese, ne the fleinge, ne the chace, by cawse of [the] great myste that was, whiche wolde nat suffre no man to se but a litle from hym; and so the Kyngs battayle, which saw none of all that, was therby in nothing discouragyed, for, save only a fewe that were nere unto them, no man wiste thereof; also the othar party by the same distres, flyght, or chace, were therefore nevar the gretlyar coragyed. And, in lyke-wise, at the est end, the Kyngs batayle, whan they cam to ioynynge, ovarrechyed theyr batayle, and so distresyd them theyr gretly, and soo drwe nere towards the Kynge, who was abowt the myddest of the battayle, and susteygned all the myght and weight thereof. Netheles upon the same litle distresse at the west end anon ranne to Westmynstar, and to London, and so forthe furthar to othar contries, that the Kynge was distressed, and his felde loste, but, the lawde be to Almyghty God! it was otharwyse; for the Kynge, trusting verely in God's helpe, ovr blessyd ladyes, and Seynt George, toke to hym great hardies and corage for to suppress the falcehode of all them that so falcely and so traytorowsly had conspired agaynst hym, wherethrwghe, with the faythefull, welbelovyd, and myghty assystaunce of his felawshipe, that in great nombar deseveryd nat from his parson, and were as

well asswred unto hym as to them was possyble, he mannly, vigorowsly, and valliantly assayled them, in the mydst and strongest of theyr battaile, where he, with great violence, bett and bare down afore hym all that stode in hys way, and, than, turned to the range, first on that one hand, and than on that othar hand, in lengthe, and so bet and bare them downe, so that nothing myght stande in the syght of hym and the welle asswred felowshipe that attendyd trewly upon hym; so that, blessed be God! he wan the filde there, and the perfite victory remayned unto hym, and to his rebells the discomfiture of xxx^m men, as they nombred them selves.

In this battayle was slayne the Erle of Warwyke, somewhat fleinge, which was taken and reputed as chefe of the felde, in that he was callyd amongs them lyvetenaunt of England, so constitute by the pretended authoritye of Kynge Henry. Ther was also slayne the Marques Montagwe, in playne battayle, and many othar knyghts, squiers, noble men, and othar. The Duke of Excestar was smytten downe, and sore woundyd, and lafte for dead; but he was not well knowne, and so lafte by a lytle out of the felde, and so, aftar, he escaped. The Erle of Oxenford fled, and toke into the contrie, and, in his flyenge, fell in company with certayne northen men, that also fled from the same filde, and so went he, in theyr company, northwards, and, aftar that, into Scotland.

This battayle duryd, fightyng and skirmishinge, some tyme in one place and some tyme in an othar, ryght dowbtefully, becawse of the myste, by the space of thre howrs, or it was fully achivyd; and the victory is gyven to hym by God, by the mediacion of the moaste blessyd virgen and modre, owr lady Seint Mary; the glorious martire Seint George, and all the saynts of heven, mayntaynyng his qwarell to be trew and rightwys, with many-fold good and contynuall prayers, whiche many devout persons, religiows and othar, ceasyd not to yelde unto God for his good spede, and, in especiall, that same day and season, whan it pleasyd God t'accepte the prayers of people being confessyd and in clene lyfe, whiche was the Estare mornynge, the tyme of the servyce-doyng of the resurection, comonly, by all the churches of England. And, albe hit the vycorye remayned to the Kynge, yet was it not without grete danger and hurt, for ther were slayne in the filde the Lorde Cromwell, the Lord Say, the Lord Mountjoies sonne and heyre, and many othar good Knyghts, and squiers, gode yemen, and many othar meniall servaunts of the Kyngs. And it is to wete, that it

cowthe not be judged that the Kyngs hoste passyd in nombar ix men; but, suche a great and gracious Lorde is Almyghty God, that it plesythe hym gyvythe the victory as well to fewe as to many, wherefore, to hym be the lawde and the thanks. And so the Kynge gave him speciall lovinge, and all that were with hym. This thus done, the Kynge, the same day, aftar that he had a little refresshed hym and his hoste, at Barnette, he gathered his felowshipe togethars, and, with them, returned to his Citie of London, where into he was welcomyd and receyvyd with moche ioy and gladnesse. And so rode he forthe streyght unto Powles at London, and there was receyvyd with my Lorde Cardinall of England, and many othar bysshops, prelates, lords spirituall, and temporall, and othar, in grete nombar, whiche all humbly thanked and lovyd God of his grace, that it plesyd hym that day to gyve to theyr prynce, and soveraygne lord, so prosperous a iowrney, wherby he had supprised them that, of so great malice, had procured and laboryd at theyr powers his uttar destruction, contrary to God, and to theyr faythes and liegeances.

On the morow aftar, the Kynge commandyd that the bodyes of the deade lords, th'Erle of Warwicke, and hys brothar the Marques, shuld be browght to Powles in London, and, in the churche there, openly shewyd to all the people; to th'entent that, aftar that, the people shuld not be abused by feyned seditiows tales, which many of them that were wonnt to be towards th'Erle of Warwyke had bene accustomyd to make, and, peradventure, so would have made aftar that, ne had the deade bodyes there be shewyd, opne, and naked, and well knowne; for, dowbtles ells the rumore shuld have bene sowne abowte, in all contries, that they bothe, or els, at the leaste, th'Erle of Warwyke, was yet on lyve, upon cursed entent therby to have cawsyd newe murmors, insurrections, and rebellyons, amongst indisposed people; suche, namely, as many dayes had bene lad to great inconveniences, and mischevs-doynge, moyenaunt the false, faynyd fables, and disclandars, that, by his subiltie and malicious moyvyng, were wont to be seditiously sowne and blowne abowt all the land, by suche persons as cowthe use, and longe had usyd, that cursed custome; whereof, as it is comonly sayde, right many were towards hym, and, for that entent, returnyd and waged with hym.

Here aftar folowithe how that Qwene Margaret, with hir sonne Edward, called Prince of Wales, aftar theyr arryvall in the west contrye, assembled greate people and cam to Tewkesberye, where the Kyngedelyveryd theym battayle, distressed theym and theyr felawshipe, [and] the sayd Edward, the Duke of Somarset, and othar, were slayne.

Aftar all thes things thus fallen, the Twuesday in Estar weke, the xvj. day of Aprile, came certayn tydyngs to the Kyng how that Qwene Margaret, hir sonne Edward, callyd Prince of Wales, the Countese of Warwyke, the Priowr of Seint Johns, that tyme called Tresorar of England, the Lord Wenloke, and many othere knyghts, squiers, and othar of theyr party, whiche longe had bene owt of the land with them, with suche also as, with the sayde Priowr of Seint Johns, had gon into Fraunce to fet them into England, were arryved, and landed in the west-contrye, upon Estar day, at Waymowthe, aftar longe abydyng passage, and beyng on the sea, and landinge agayne for defawlte of good wynde and wethar. For, trewth it is, that the Qwene, and Edward hir sonne, with all theyr felowshipe, entendinge to passe out of Normandy into England, toke first the sea, at Humflew, in the monithe of Marche, the xxiiij. day of the same, and, from that tyme forthe wards, they cowlde nat have any stable wethar to passe with; for and it were one day good, anon it chaunged upon them, and was agaynst them, and fayne they were therefor to goo to land agayne. And so, at divars tymes, they toke the sea, and forsoke it agayne, tyll it was the xij. day of Aprill, Estars Even. That day they passyd. The Countysse of Warwyke had a shippe of avaunctage, and, therefore, landyd afore the othar, at Portsmowthe, and, from thens, she went to Sowthampton, entendynge to have gon towards the Qwene, whiche was landyd at Wemowthe. But, beinge there, she had certayne knowledge that the Kyng had wonne the fiede upon her howsband, at Barnet, and there slayne hym, wherefore she would no farthar goo towards the Qwene, but, secretly, gat ovar Hampton-watar into the new forreste, where she tooke hir to the fraunches of an abbey called Beawlew, whiche, as it is sayde, is ample, and as large as the franchisesse of Westmynstar, or of Seint Martins at London.

The Qwene, Margarete, and hir sonne went from there she landyd to an

abbey nere by, callyd Seern, and all the lords, and the remenaunt of the fellowship with them. Thethar came unto them Edmond, callyd Duke of Somerset, Thomas Courteney, callyd th'Erle of Devonshire, with othar, and welcomyd them into England; comfortyd them, and put them in good hope that, albe it they had lost one felde, whereof the Qwene had knowledge the same day, Monday, the xv. day of Aprell, and was therefore right hevy and sory, yet it was to thinke that they shuld have ryght good spede, and that, for that los, theyr partye was nevar the febler, but rather strongar, and that they dowed nothinge but that they shuld assemble so great puisaunce of people in dyvars partis of England, trewly asswred unto theyr partye, that it shuld not mowe lye in the Kyngs powere to resyste them; and in that contrye they would begyne. And so, forthewith, they sent alabout in Somarsetshere, Dorsetshire, and parte of Wiltshere, for to arrede and arays the people by a certayne day, suche, algats, as the sayde lords, and theyr partakers, afore that had greatly laboryd to that entent, preparinge the contry by all meanes to them posseble. And, for that they would gather and arrays up the powere of Devonshire and Cornewaile, they drew from thens more west ward to the citie of Excestar, movinge Edward, callyd Prince, and his mothar, the Qwene, to doo the same; trustynge that theyr presence-shewynge in the contrye shuld cawse moche more, and the sonnar, the people to com to theyr helpe and assistance.

At Excestar, they sent for Syr John Arundell, Syr Hughe Courteney, and many othar on whom they had any trust, and, in substaunce, they arayed the hoole myghte of Cornwall and Devonshire, and so, with great people, they departyd out of Excestre, and toke the ryght waye to Glastonberye, and, from thens, to the city of Bathe, withar they came the day of Aprell; and, as they went, they gatheryd the hable men of all thos partes. The cuntrie had bene so longe laboryd afore by th'Erle of Warwike, and such as he for that caws sent thethar to move them to take Kynge Henry's partie, and, now of late, they were also sore laboryd for the same entent, and thereunto the more lyghtly enducyd, by Edmond, callyd Duke of Somarset, and Thomas Courtney, callyd th'Erle of Devonshire, for that they reputyd them old enheritors of that contrie.

The Kynge beyng at London, and havynge knowledge of all this theyr demeanynge from tyme to tyme, anon purveyed for the relevynge of his

sycke and hurt men, that had bene with hym at Barnet felde, which were ryght many in nombar, what left at London, and what in the contrye, and sent to all partes to get hym freshe men, and, incontinent, prepared all things that was thowght behovefull for a new field; whiche he saw was imminent and comyng on. So purveyed he artillary, and ordinaunce, gonns, and othar, for the filde gret plentye. And Fryday, the xix. day of Aprille, he departyd out of London, and went to Wyndsore, ther to thanke and honor God, and Seint George, where he kept also the feaste of Seint George, tarienge somewhat the longer there for that he had commaundyd all the people, and thos that wold serve hym in this iourney, to draw unto hym thithar, and from thens, suche waye as shulde happen hym take towards his enemyes. And, for so moche as they at that season were in an angle of the land, and nedes they must take one of the two wayes, that is to say, eythar to come streight to Salisbery, and so, that way, towards London; or ells, alonge by the sea-coaste into Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent, and so to London, to make in the way theyr people the mo in nombar; or els, they, nat thynkyng themselves to be of puisaunce lykly to have a doo with the Kynge, and, therefore, paradventure, woulde drawe northwards into Lancasshyre and Cheshire, trustyng also to have in theyr waye th'assystaunce of Walchemen, by the meane of Jasper called Erle of Penbroke, whiche, for that cawse, had bene afore sent into the contrie of Wales, to arays them, and make them redy to assyst that partye at theyr comyng; for whiche consyderations, the Kynge cawsed great diligence to be done by meane of espies, and by them he had knowledge, from tyme to tyme, of theyr purposes in that behalfe. Yf they would have taken estwards theyr way, his entent was to encounter them as sonne as he myght, and the farthar from London that shuld be to hym posseble, for th'entent that they shuld assemble no myght owt of eny contrye but where they then were, but, for so moche as he undarstode well they toke the othar waye, towards northwest, he hastyd hym, with his host, all that he myght, upon the purpos that he had taken to stope them theyr waye and passage into thos parties whereunto their desyre was to goo, and to make them the more myghty, whiche passagis of lykelyhode eythar must be at Glowcestar, or els at Tewkesbery, or farthar of at Worcestar. And, algates, the Kynge lay so that, would they or no, he nedes shuld nowe recountar them, or stope them, and put them bake. They in lyke wyse, thynkyng

by theyr wysdomes that suche was, or of convenience muste be, the purpos of the Kyngs party, therefore put them gretly in devowre to abwse the Kyngs party in that behalfe, for whiche cawse and purpos they sent theyr aforerydars streight from Excestar to Shaftesbery, and aftarwards to Salisbery, and toke them the streight way to Tawnton, and to Glastonberye, to Wells, and there abouts, hovinge in the contrye; from whens, an othar tyme, they sent theyr forrydars to a towne called Yevell, and to a towne callyd Bruton, to make men to undarstond that they would have drawne towards Redynge, and by Barkeshire, and Oxfordshire, have drawne towards London, or ells fallen upon the Kynge at some great advantage. Suche mannar sendynge natheles servyd them of two thyngs; one was, to call and arays the people to make towards them for theyr helpe owt of all thos parties; an othar was, to have abusyd the Kynge in his approchyng towards them but, thanked be God, he was nat hereof unadvertisyd, but, by goode and sad advyse, purveyed for every way, as may appere in tellyng furthe his progres from Wyndsowr towards them; from whence he departyd the Wedensday, the morne aftar Saynt Georgis day, the xxiiij. day of Aprell, so kepinge his iorney that he cam to Abyndon the Satarday next, the xxvij. day; where he was the Sonday; and, on the Monday, at Cicestre; where he had certayne tydyngs that they would, on Twesday next, [be] at Bathe, as so they were; and that on the morne next, the Wedensday, they would com on streight towards the Kyngs battayle. For whiche cawse, and for that he would se and set his people in array, he drove all the people owt of the towne, and lodgyd hym, and his hoste, that nyght in the filde, iij myle out of the towne. And, on the morow, he, having no certayne tydyngs of theyr comynge forward, went to Malmesbury, sekyng upon them. And there had he knowledge that they, undarstandynge his approching and marchinge neare to them, had lefte theyr purpos of gevyng battayle, and turned asyde-hand, and went to Bristowe, a good and stronge wallyd towne, where they were greatly refreshed and relevyd, by such as were the Kyngs rebels in that towne, of money, men, and artilarye; wherethrwghe they toke new corage, the Thursday aftar to take the filde, and gyve the Kynge battayll, for whiche intent they had sent forrydars to a towne ix myle from Bristow, callyd Sudbury, and, a myle towards the Kynge, they apoyntyd a grownd for theyr filde at a place callyd Sudbury hill. The Kynge, heringe this, the same Thurs-

day, first day of May, with all his hooste in array and fayre ordinaunce came towards the place by them apoyntyd for theyr felde. Th'enemyes alsoo avauncyd them forthe, the same day, owt of Bristow, makynge semblaunce as thowghe they would have comen streyght to the place appoyntyd, but, havynge knoledge of the Kyngs approochinge, they lefte that way, albe it theyr herbengars were come afore them as ferre as Sudberye towne; where they distressed certayne of the Kyngs partye, five or six, suche as negligently pressed so ferre forwards, dredynge no dangar, but only entending to have purveyed ther theyr masters lodgyngs; and so they changyd theyr sayd purpos, and toke theyr way streyght to Berkley, travelyng all that nyght, and, from thens, towards the towne of Gloucestar. The Kynge, the same Thursday, sonne aftar none, came nere to the same grownd, called Sudbury hill, and, nat havynge eny certaynty of his enemys, sent his scowrrers alabowte in the cuntrye, trustynge by them to have wist where they had bene. Aboute that place was a great and a fayre large playne, called a would, and dowbtfull it was for to pas ferther, to he myght here somewhate of them, supposynge that they were right nere, as so they myght well have bene, yf they had kepte forthe the way they toke owt of Bristow. And, when he cowthe nat here any certaynty of them, he avauncyd forwards his hoole battayle, and lodgyd his vaward beyonde the hill, in a valley towards the towne of Sudberye, and lodged hymselfe, with the remenaunt of his hooste, at the selfe hill called Sudbery hill. Early in the mornynge, sonne aftar three of the cloke, the Kynge had certayne tydyngs that they had taken theyre way by Barkley toward Gloucestar, as so they toke indede. Whereupon he toke advise of his counsell of that he had to doo for the stopynge of theyr wayes, at two passagys afore namyd, by Glocestar, or els by Tewkesberye, and, first, he purveyed for Gloucestar, and sent thethar certayne servaunts of his owne to Richard Bewchamp, sonne and heyr to the Lord Bewchampe, to whom afore he had comytted the rule and governaunce of the towne and castell of Gloucestar, commaundyng hym to kepe the towne and castle for the Kynge, and that he, with suche helpe as he myght have, shuld defend the same agaynst them, in caas they woulde in any wise assayle them; as it was suppos they so would doo that same aforenone; lettynge them wete that he would have good espye upon them yf they so did. And, yf he myght know that they so dyde, he promised to come theyr rescows, and comforte. With this

the Kyngs message they were well receyved at Gloucestar, and the towne and castell put in sure and save kepinge of the sayd Richard, and the sayde Kynges servaunts. Whiche message was sent and done in right good season, for certayne it is the Kyngs enemyes were put in sure hope, and determyned to have enteryd the towne, and ethar have kept it agaynst the Kynge, or, at the leaste, to have passed thwrghe the towne into othar contries, where they thowght [to] have bene myghtely assysted, as well with Welchemen, which they demed shuld have fallen to them in thos parties, in the company of Jasper, called Earle of Penbroke, as also for to havd gotten into theyr companye, by that way-takynge, greate nombar of men of Lancashire, and Chesshere, upon whom they mucche trustyd. For whiche cawses they had greatly travayled theyr people all that nyght and mornynge, upon the Fryday, to the about ten of the cloke they were comen afore Gloucestar; where there entent was uttarly denyed them by Richard Bewchampe, and othar of the Kyngs servaunts, that, for that cawse, the Kynge had sent thethar. Natwithstandynge, many of the inhabytaunts of that towne were greatly disposed towards them, as they had certayne knowledge. Of this demenyng they toke right great displeasure, and made great manasys, and pretendyd as thowghe they woulde have assaultyd the towne, and wonne it upon them, but, as well thos that kepte the towne as the sayde enemyes that so pretendyd, knewe well, that the Kynge with a myghty puisawnce was nere to them, and, yf eny affraye had there be made, he myght sone have bene upon them, and taken upon them ryght grete advantage; wherefore they in the towne nothyng dowbtyd, and they withoute durste not for feare begynne any suche werke; and, therefore, they shortly toke theyr conclusyon for to go the next way to Tewkesbery, whithar they came the same day, about four aftar none. By whiche tyme they hadd so travaylled theyr hoaste that nyght and daye that they were ryght wery for travaylynge; for by that tyme they had travaylyd xxxvj longe myles, in a fowle contrye, all in lanes and stonny wayes, betwyxt woodes, without any good refresshyng. And, for as mooche as the greater parte of theyr hooste were fotemen, the othar partye of the hoste, whan they were comen to Tewkesbery, cowthe, ne myght, have laboryd any furthar, but yf they wolde wilfully have forsaken and lefte theyr fotemen behynd them, and therto themselves that were horsemen were ryght werye of that iornwey, as so were theyr horses. So,

whethar it were of theyr election and good will, or no, but that they were verly compelled to byde by two cawses; one was, for werines of theyr people, which they supposed nat theyr people woulde have eny longer endured; an other, for they knew well that the Kynge ever approchyd towards them, nere and nere, evar redy, in good aray and ordinaunce, to have pursuyd and fallen uppon them, yf they wolde any ferther have gon, and, paradventure, to theyr moste dyssavantage. They therefore determyned t'abyde there th'aventure that God would send them in the qwarell they had taken in hand. And, for that entent, the same nyght they pight them in a fiede, in a close even at the townes ende; the towne, and the abbey, at theyr backs; afore them, and upon every hand of them, fowle lanes, and depe dikes, and many hedges, with hylls, and valleys, a ryght evill place to approche, as cowlde well have bene devysed.

The Kynge, the same mornynge, the Fryday, erly, avanced his banners, and devyded his hole hoost in three battayles, and sent afore hym his forrydars, and scorars, on every syde hym, and so, in fayre arraye and ordinaunce, he toke his way thwrghe the champain contrye, callyd Cotteswolde, travaylynge all his people, whereof were moo than iij^m fotemen, that Fryday, which was right-an-hot day, xxx myle and more; whiche his people might nat finde, in all the way, horse-mete, ne mans-meate, ne so moche as drynke for theyr horses, save in one litle broke, where was full letle relefe, it was so sone trowbled with the cariages that had passed it. And all that day was evarmore the Kyngs hoste within v or vj myles of his enemyes; he in playne contry and they amongst woods; havynge allway good espialls upon them. So, continuyng that iourney to he came, with all his hooste, to a village callyd Chilterham, but five myles from Tewkesberye, where the Kynge had certayn knolege that, but litle afore his comynge thethar, his enemyes were comen to Tewkesbury, and there were takynge a field, wherein they purposed to abyde, and delyver him battayle. Whereupon the Kynge made no longar taryenge, but a litle confortyd hymselfe, and his people, with suche meate and drynke as he had done to be caried with hym, for vitalyge of his hooste; and, incontinent, set forthe towards his enemyes, and toke the fiede, and lodgyd hym selfe, and all his hooste, within three myle of them.

Upon the morow followynge, Saterday, the iiij. day of May, [the Kynge] apparaild hymselfe, and all his hoost set in good array; ordeined three

wards; displayed his bannars; dyd blowe up the trompets; commytted his caws and qwarell to Almyghty God, to ovr most blessyd lady his mothar, Vyrgyn Mary, the glorious martyr Seint George, and all the saynts; and avaunced, directly upon his enemyes; approching to theyr filde, whiche was strongly in a marvaylows strong grownd pyght, full difficult to be assayled. Netheles the Kyngs ordinance was so conveniently layde afore them, and his vawarde so sore oppressyd them, with shott of arrows, that they gave them right-a-sharpe shwre. Also they dyd agayne-ward to them, bothe with shot of arrows and gonnes, whereof netheles they ne had not so great plenty as had the Kyng. In the front of theyr field were so evell lanes, and depe dykes, so many hedges, trees, and bussches, that it was right hard to approche them nere, and come to hands; but Edmond, called Duke of Somarset, having that day the vawarde, whithar it were for that he and his fellowshipe were sore annoyed in the place where they were, as well with gonnes-shott, as with shot of arrows, whiche they ne would nor durst abyde, or els, of great harte and corage, knyghtly and manly avaunsyd hymselfe, with his fellowshipe, somewhat asyde-hand the Kyngs vawarde, and, by certayne pathes and wayes therefore afore purveyed, and to the Kyngs party unknowne, he departed out of the field, passyd a lane, and came into a fayre place, or cloos, even afore the Kyng where he was enbattelod, and, from the hill that was in that one of the closes, he set right fiercely upon th'end of the Kyngs battayle. The Kyng, full manly, set forthe even upon them, enteryd and wann the dyke, and hedge, upon them, into the cloose, and, with great vyolence, put them upe towards the hyll, and, so also, the Kyng's vaward, being in the rule of the Duke of Gloucestar.

Here it is to be remembred, how that, whan the Kyng was comyn afore theyr field, or he set upon them, he consydered that, upon the right hand of theyr field, there was a parke, and therein moche wood, and he, thinkynge to purvey a remedye in caace his sayd enemyes had layed any bushement in that wood, of horsemen, he chose, out of his fellashyppe, ij^c speres, and set them in a plomp, togethars, nere a qwartar of a myle from the field, gyvenge them charge to have good eye upon that cornar of the woode, if caas that eny nede were, and to put them in devowre, and, yf they saw none suche, as they thowght most behovfull for tyme and space, to employ themselfe in the best wyse as they cowlde; which pro-

visyon cam as well to poynt at this tyme of the battayle as cowthe well have been devysed, for the sayd spers of the Kyngs party, seinge no lyklynnes of eny bussument in the sayd woode-corner, seinge also goode oportunitie t'employ them selfe well, cam and brake on, all at ones, upon the Duke of Somerset, and his vawarde, asyde-hand, unadvysed, whereof they, seinge the Kynge gave them ynoughe to doo afore them, were gretly dismaied and abasshed, and so toke them to flyght into the parke, and into the medowe that was nere, and into lanes, and dykes, where they best hopyd to escape the dangar; of whom, netheles, many were distressed, taken, and slayne; and, even at this point of theyr flyght, the Kynge coragiously set upon that othar felde, where was chefe Edward, called Prince, and, in short while, put hym to discomfiture and flyght; and so fell in the chase of them that many of them were slayne, and, namely, at a mylene, in the medowe fast by the towne, were many drownyd; many rann towards the towne; many to the churche; to the abbey; and els where; as they best myght.

In the wynnyng of the felde such as abode hand-stroks were slayne incontinent; Edward, called Prince, was taken, fleinge to the towne wards, and slayne, in the felde. Ther was also slayne Thomas, called th'Erle of Devonshire; John of Somarset, called Marqwes Dorset; Lord Wenloke; with many othar in great nombar.

Thus this done, and with God's myght atchyved, the Kynge toke the right way to th'abbey there, to gyve unto Almyghty God lawde and thanke for the vycctorye, that, of his mercy, he had that day grauntyd and gyven unto hym; where he was receyvvyd with procession, and so convayed thrwgh the churche, and the qwere, to the hy awtere, with grete devocion praysenge God, and yeldynge unto hym convenient lawde. And, where there were fledd into the sayd churche many of his rebels, in great nombar

or moo, hopynge there to have bene relevyd and savyd from bodyly harme, he gave them all his fre pardon, albe it there ne was, ne had nat at any tyme bene grauntyd, any fraunchise to that place for any offenders agaynst theyr prince havynge recowrse thethar, but that it had bene lefull to the Kynge to have commaundyd them to have bene drawne out of the churche, and had done them to be executyd as his traytors, yf so had bene his pleasure; but, at the reverence of the blessyd Trinitie, the moste holy vyrgyn Mary, and the holy martir Seint George, by whos grace and helpe

he had that day atteygned so noble a victory ; and, at the same reverence, he graundyng the corpses of the sayd Edward, and othar so slayne in the field, or ells where, to be buryed there, in churche, or ells where it pleasyd the servaunts, frends, or neighbours, without any qwarteryng, or defoulyng theyr bodyes, by setting up at any opne place.

This battayll thus done and atchived, and the Kyngs grace thus largely shewed, it was so that, in the abbey, and othar places of the towne, were founden Edmond, callyd Duke of Somerset, the prior of Seynt Johns, called Ser John Longestrother, Ser Thomas Tressham, Ser Gervaux of Clyfton, knyghts, squiers, and othar notable parsonnes dyvers, whiche all, dyvers tymes, were browght afore the Kyng's brothar, the Duke of Gloucestar and Constable of England, and the Duke of Norfolke, Marshall of England, theyr iudges ; and so were iudged to deathe, in the mydst of the towne, Edmond Duke of Somarset, and the sayd Prior of Seint Johns, with many othar gentils that there were taken, and that of longe tyme had provoked and continuyd the great rebellyon that so long had endured in the land agaynst the Kynge, and contrye to the wele of the Realme. The sayd Duke, and othar thus iudged, were executyd in the mydste of the towne, upon a scaffold therefore made, behedyd evereche one, and without eny othar dismembringe, or setting up, licensyd to be buryed.

All these thyngs thus done, the Twesday, the vij. day of May, the Kynge departyd from Tewxbery, towards his cite of Worcestar, and, on the waye, he had certayne knowledge that Qwene Margarete was founden nat fer from thens, in a powre religiows place, where she had hyd hir selfe, for the surty of hir parson, the Saturdaye, erlye in the mornynge, after his sonne Edward, callyd Prince, was gon to the filde, for to withdraw hir selfe from the adventure of the battayle ; of whome also he was assured that she shuld be at his commaundement.

The Kynge, beinge at Worcestar, had certayne knowledge also, that certayne his rebells of the northe parties beganne to make commocions, and assembles of people agaynst hym, in the qwarell of Henry, callyd Kynge ; for whiche cawse he kept nat the ryght way to London, as he had purposyd, but, entending to prepare a new felashipp agaynst the sayd rebells in the north, and, to be in a good strengthe of people, whatsoever shuld happe, he determined hym selfe to goo to Coventrye, as he so dyd the xi. day of the sayd monythe ; where he refresshed well suche

as were laft withe hym of his hoste, by the space of three dayes; and thethar was browght unto hym Qwene Margaret. He forgate not to send from thens his messengars, with writyngs, all abowte the contryes nere adioyninge, to suche in especiall as he trustyd best that they would do hym service. Trewth it is whiles the Kynge, in alwyse, thus preparyd a new armye, came certayne tydyngs unto hym, how they of the northe had herd the certeynty of his great vyctories, and how that he disposyd hym to come towards them, with a great armye, and they, sore dredyng his good spede, and great fortunes; nat havynge any of the Warewyks, or Nevells, blode, whom unto they myght have restyd, as they had done afore; knowynge also, for certaynty, that th'Erle of Northumbarland was nothinge of theyr partye, but that he wOULD resyste and withstand them at his uttarmoste powere, uttarily takynge parte with the Kynge, and his qwarell; the cheftaynes of them that were maliciowsly dysposed, and, for evell entent, as above, have comoned and begone to assemble the people, anon, upon thies knowledge and considerations, they withdrew them from any ferthar proceeding to theyr said rebellyon, as folks not lykly to maintayne theire fals qwarell and partye. They lefte theyr hands, and compaignes, and dyvars of them made menes to th'Erle of Northumbarland, beseching hym to be good meane to the Kynge for his grace and pardone. Some of the scowrars wer taken and put in warde. The citie of Yorke, and othar good townes, and contryes, lowly submitte them, and [promysinge] than to the Kynge theyr dwe obedyence. And so, by the xiiij. day of May, it was knowne clerly, by suche as were sent unto the Kynge from th'Erle of Northumbarland, from the citie of Yorke, and othar dyvars places in the northe, that there was no rebellyon in all the northe begon, but that it was so passyfyed that it ne myght ne shwld anoy the Kynge, in any wyse. Wherefore it was to hym thought, and to all hys counsell, that for to goo into the northe for eny pacification, or punishment of suche parsons, it was not nedefull as at that tyme; and so it was most clerly declaryd, the same daye, by th'Erle of Northumbarland, who cam streyght to the Kynge to Coventrye, out of the northe contrye; as his departynge well asswred that the contrye was in good and sure tranquillitie, without any comotions, or unlawfull gatherynge. Whiche Erle cam not accompanied greatly, but with a fewe folkes, and nat arrayed in manar of warr, for he had no mannar knowledge but that the

Kynge, aftar this his great victories acchived, shuld have good pax, every where in his realme; but it was nat so, for the Kynge had knowledge, or that he cam to Coventrye, by lettars sent hym by lords of his blode beinge at London this season, that the bastard Fawcomberge, whiche, a lytle afore that, had bene sent to the sea by th'Erle of Warwyke, and had distressed many marchaunt-shippes of Portyngall, and taken the ships and goods to hym selfe, in breche of the amitie that of longe tyme had bene betwyxt the realmes of England and Portyngall, he had callyd unto hym, and to his fellowshipe, grete partyes and nombars of marinars, out of every party and porte of England, and many othar traytors, and misgoverned men, of every contrye of England, and also othar contries, that had great corage to atend to thefte and robberye. It was shewed the Kyng that dayly his nombar drew gretar and gretar, and that he was gone to Calays, and browght many men with hym, from thens, into Kent, where he began to gathar his people in great nombar, entendyng, by lyklyhode, to do some great myschevows dede.

Aftar the Kynge was at Coventrye, he had dayly messages from the Lords at London, how that the bastard had assembled grete people, and, bothe by lande many thowsands, and, by watar with all his shippes ful of people, he came afore London, thinkynge to robbe, and spoyle, and do almaner of myschefe; and therto many of the contrye of Kent were assentyng, and cam with theyr good wills, as people redy to be appliable to suche seditious commocions. Othar of Kentyshe people that would righte fayne have sytten still at home, and nat to have ronne into the dangar of suche rebellyon, by force and violence of suche riotows people as were of the sayd bastards company, for feare of deathe, and othar great manasses, and thretynnynges, were compellyd, some to goo with the bastard, in theyr parsons; suche specially, as were hable in parsons, yf they had aray, and myght not wage to such as would goo, they were compellyd, by lyke foarce, to lene them theyr araye, and harnes; and such as were unharnesyed, aged, and unhable, and of honor, they were compelled to send men waged, or to gyve mony wherewith to wage men to goo to the sayd bastards company. So that, ryght in a shorte tyme, the sayd bastard and his felowship had assembled to the nombar of xvj or xvij^m men, as they accomptyd themselves. Whiche came afore London the xij. day of May, in the qwarell of Kynge Henry, whome they sayd they woude have owte of

the Towre of London, as they pretendyd. And, for that cawse, they desyred the citizens of London that they myght have free entrye into the citie where, first, theyr entent was to have with them the sayd Henry, and aftar, to passe pesceably thwrghe the citie, as they sayd, without any grevaunce to be done to eny parson; upon th'entent from thens to goo towards the Kynge, where so evar they myght finde hym, hym to distroy and all his partakars, in qwarell of the sayde Henry, yf they myght have of hym the ovar-hand.

But, so it was, that the Maior, Aldarmen, and othar officers and citizens of London denied them theyr entrye. As this was in doinge ovar came from London freshe tydyngs to the Kynge, from the Lords, and the citizens, which, with right grete instance, moved the Kinge, in all possible haste, to approche and com to the citie, to the defence of the Qwene, than being in the Tower of London, my Lorde Prince, and my Ladies his doghtars, and of the Lords, and of the citie, whiche, as they all wrote, was likly to stand in the grettest ioperdy that evar they stode. In consideration had for that gret nombar of the persones within the citie were rather disposyd to have helped to have suche mischiefe wrought than to defend it; some, for they were maliciowsly disposed, and were, in theyr harts perciall to th'Erle of Warwikes qwarell, and to the party of Henry, wherefore were many; some, for they were powre; some, mens servaunts, mens prentises, which would have bene right glade of a comon robbery, to th'entent they might largely have put theyr hands in riche mens coffres.

Thes manar of writings moved the Kynge greatly to haste hym thetharwards; but it was behovefull, or that he came there, he were furnesshyd of as great, or gretar, hooste than he had had at any tyme sithe his comynge into the land; natheles, for that suche armye might nat be prepared so sonne as he woulde, the sayd xiiij. day of May, he apoyntyd a notable, and a well chosen, felawshipec owt of his hooste, and them sent unto the citie of London, afore his comynge, to the nombar of xvc men, well besene; for the comforte of the Quene, the Lords, and the citizens. And hymselfe departyd out of Coventrie towards London the xvj. day of May.

Here is to be remembred, that, whan the bastard and his felawshipec myght not purchase of the maior and citezens of London the overtur of the sayd citie, for theyr passage thwrghe, as above, neythar for theyr promises, ne for great thretenyngs and manassyngs, they made sembland to passe ovar

Thames, by Kyngstone Brige, x myles above London, and thethar drewe them the hole hooste, levyng all theyr shippes afore Seint Katheryns, a lytle from the Towre of London; pretending that they shuld come and dystroy Westmynstar, and than the subarbs of London, and assay the uttarmoste agaynst the citee, revengynge that theyr entrie was denied them, and theyr passage thwrghe the citee, and so forthe, with theyr hole multitude, have passed thwrghe the contries agaynst the Kynge. But, so it was, as they were onwards in this journey, the bastard had certayne knowledge that the Kynge was greatly assistyd with all the Lords of the Realme in substaunce, great nombar of noble men and othar, in greater nombar than in eny tyme he had had afore; they, greatly fearinge his highe corage and knyghthood, and the great vycories that God had sent hym, they delayed with the watar wyne (?) and so retowrned agayne, and came before London, and shewyd themselfe in hoole battayle in Seint Georgis filde. And that for dyvers consideracions; for ones, they dowbtyd gretly the recountar of the Kynge; also the multytud of them cam rather for robbinge than for revengynge by way of battayle; they doubted, also, to assaile the citee on that othar syde of Thamys, for, lykly it was, that, in caas they myght not prevayle, they of London shuld lyghtly stoppe them theyr wayes homeward unto theyr contrye. And for to devide theyr hoost, some upon the one syde of London and some upon the othar syde, they thought it foly, forsomoche as, with fewe folks, they myght have broken the brydges aftar them, and, with right fewe folks, have kepte and stopped theyr passage.

Here folowethe howe the sayd bastard Faucomberge, with his felashippe, assayled the citee of London, and set fyre upon the bridge of London, and brent greate parte thereof, and upon othar two gates of the sayde citee; and how they were honorably recountred, and discomfeted, and dryven to the watar, and soo the citee delyveryd from them.

The bastard and his fellashippe, thus returnyd agayne from Kyngstonn brige, afore London, purposynge to execute theyr greate rancowr and malice agayns the citee of London, and that in all haste, to

and riotours with them, to theyr shippes; and drewe downe to the sea coaste with all theyr shippes.

The Kynge this season, well accompanied and mightely with great lordes, and in substaunce all the noblemen of the land, with many othar able men, well arraied for the werre, to the nombar of xxx^m horsemen, cam to the citie of London, sone after the disperblynge of the Kentyshe hooste, the xxj. day of Maye, the Twesdaye; where he was honorably receyved of all the people, the maior, aldermen, and many othar worshipfull men, citizens of the sayd citie. At the metyng of them the Kynge dubbed Knyghtes the maior, the recorder, dyvars aldarmen, with othar worshipfull of the sayd citie of London, whiche as hadd mannly and honorably acquit them selfe agaynst the bastard, and his crwell hooste; honoring, and rewardinge them with the ordar, of his good love and grace, for theyr trwe acquitaill, and as they had ryght well and trewly deservyd that tyme.

Here it is to be remembred, that, from the tyme of Tewkesbery field, where Edward, called Prince, was slayne, thanne, and sonne after, wer taken, and slayne, and at the Kyngs wylle, all the noblemen that came from beyond the see with the sayde Edward, called Prince, and othar also theyr parte-takers as many as were of eny might or puisaunce. Qwene Margaret, hirselle, taken, and browght to the Kynge; and, in every party of England, where any commotion was begonne for Kynge Henry's party, anone they were rebuked, so that it appered to every mann at eye the sayde partie was extincte and repressed for evar, without any mannar hope of agayne quikkening; utterly despaired of any maner of hoope or releve. The certaintie of all whiche came to the knowledge of the sayd Henry, late called Kyng, being in the Tower of London; not havynge, afore that, knowledge of the saide matars, he toke it to so great dispite, ire, and indingnation, that, of pure displeasure, and melencoly, he dyed the xxij. day of the monithe of May. Whom the Kynge dyd to be browght to the friers prechars at London, and there, his funerall service donne, to be caried, by watar, to an Abbey upon Thammys syd, xvj myles from London, called Chartsey, and there honorably enteryd.

The Kynge, incontinent after his comynge to London, taried but one daye, and went with his hole army, after his sayd traytors into Kent,

them to repress, in caas they were in any place assembled, and for to let them to assemble by any comocion to be made amongs them, wher unto they, heretoforne, have often tymes bene accustomed to doo. But, trewth it was, that they were disperbled as afore; but the sayd bastard Faucomberge, with great nombar of mariners, and many othar mischevows men, called his sowldiours, or men of were, went streyght to Sandwyche, and there kept the towne with strengthe, and many great and small shippes, abowt xl and vij, in the haven, all undar his rule. And, as sone as they undarstode the Kynge and his hoste aprochid nere unto them, the sayd bastard sent unto hym suche meanes as best he cowthe, humbly to sew for his grace and pardon, and them of his feloshipe, and, by appoyntement, willed there to be delyveryd to the Kyngs behove all his shippes, and became his trwe liegemen, with as streight promyse of trew legiaunce as cowthe be devised for them to be made, whiche, aftar delyberation taken in that parte, for certayn great consyderations, was grauntyd. Wherefore the Kynge sent thethar his brothar Richard, Duke of Gloucestar, to receyve them in his name, and all the shippes; as he so dyd the xxvj. day of the same monithe; the Kynge that tyme beinge at Cantorbery.

And thus, with the helpe of Almighty God, the moaste glorious Virgin Mary his mothar, and of Seint George, and of [all] the Saynts of heven, was begon, finished, and termined, the reentrie and perfecte recover of the iuste title and right of owr sayd soveraygne Lord Kynge Edward the Fowrthe, to his realme and crowne of England, within the space of xj wekes; in the whiche season, moienaunt the helpe and grace of Allmyghty God, by his wysdome, and polyqwe, he escaped and passyd many great perills, and daungars, and dificulties, wherin he had bene; and, by his full noble and knyghtly cowrage, hathe optayned two right-great, crwell, and mortall battayles; put to flight and discomfeture dyvars great assembles of his rebells, and riotows persons, in many partyes of his land; the whiche, thowghe all they were also rygorously and maliciously disposed, as they myght be, they were, netheles, so affrayde and afferyd of the verey asswryd courage and manhod that restethe in the person of our seyde soveraigne lord, that they were, anon, as confused. Whereby it apperithe, and faythfully is belevyd, that with the helpe of Almyghty God, whiche from his begynning hitharto hathe not fayled hym, in short tyme he shall appeas his subgetes thrwgh the all his royalme; that peace and tranquillitie shall

growe and multiplie in the same, from day to day, to the honour and lovyng of Almyghty God, the encrease of his singuler and famows renoume, and to the great ioye and consolation of his frinds, alies, and wellwillers, and to all his people, and to the great confusion of all his enemys, and evyll wyllars.

Here endethe the arryvaile of Kynge Edward the Fowrthe. Out of Mastar Flyghtwods boke, Recordar of London.

NOTES.

P. 1, l. 7, calling himself Lievetenaunte of England.—All the knowledge we have of the parliamentary arrangements made for carrying on the government during the short repossession of the throne by Henry VI. is derived from a statement of Polydore Vergil, which seems rather at variance with the notion of Warwick alone being Lieutenant of England. The roll of the parliament which met on the 26th November 1470 is not known to be in existence; probably it was destroyed in 1477 when all the proceedings of that parliament were annulled. (*Rot. Parl. VI.* 191.) The effect of Vergil's statement is accurately given by Hall in the following words: "Besides this, the Erle of Warwycke, as one to whome the common welthe was much beholden, was made Ruler and Gouvernor of the realme, with whom as fellow and compaignion was associated George Duke of Clarence his sonne-in-law." (*Hall, p. 286. Vergil, p. 521.*) Probably the present writer is correct; but if Warwick and Clarence were, as Shakspeare expresses it,

"Yoak'd together like a double shadow

"To Henry's body," (*Third part of Henry VI. act IV. sc. 7.*)

the omission by the present writer, in this and several other places, of any mention of Clarence's share in the Lieutenancy may be attributed to an anxiety not to make Clarence's treachery to Henry appear the more obviously inexcusable.

— *l. 9, callynge hymselfe Prynce of Wales.*—Edward was created Prince of Wales in 1454. (*Vide Rot. Parl. V.* 249.)

— *l. 13, presently, i. e. being present.*

— *l. 17. endyng the x. yere.*—The regnal years of Edward IV. were reckoned from the 4th day of March 1461, the day on which he took possession of the throne; (*Fabyan, 639*;) his tenth year ended therefore on the 3rd March 1471.

— *l. 20, accompanied with ij thousand Englishmen.*—Henry's government at first represented Edward's adherents as consisting wholly of foreigners, (*Fadera, XI. 705.*) but afterwards admitted they were partly Englishmen and partly Flemings. (*Ibid. 706.*) The Chroniclers are singularly contradictory,

The Croyland Continuator describes them as 1500 Englishmen; (*Gale*, I. 554;) Fabyan as a small company of Flemings and others not exceeding 1000 in number; (*Fabyan*, 660;) Polydore Vergil as scarcely 2000 men at arms; (*Vergil*, p. 522;) the Chronicler in Leland as 900 Englishmen and 300 Flemings. (*Collect.* II. 503.)

P. 1, l. 22, his realme of England at that tyme usurpyd and occupied by Henry, callyd Henry the VI.—Henry's brief restoration took place in the month of October 1470; the day is variously stated. There are documents in the *Fœdera* in Henry's name dated the 9th of October. (*XI.* 661—664.)

P. 2, l. 18, in especiall by th'Erle of Oxenforde.—Preparations to resist the meditated return of Edward IV. were made as early as December 1470. On the 21st of that month a Commission was directed to the Marquis Montague, authorising him, in case of necessity, to raise the counties of Nottyngham, York, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmerland; (*Fœd.* XI. 676;) and a Commission of a similar character, but extending all over England, was directed to the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Oxford and Sir John Scrope on the 28th of December. (*Ibid.* 677.) By a writ dated the 2nd January 1471, the Sheriffs and people of the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Hertford, were directed to be attendant upon the last-mentioned Commissioners. (*Ibid.* 678.) The exertions of the Earl of Oxford in raising men in the Eastern Counties are manifest from two letters in the Paston Collection. (*II.* 54, 58.)

P. 3, l. 16, scuringe, i. e. assuring.

P. 4, l. 14, by the ledinge and gwydynge of a priste.—This appears to have been one John Westerdale, who was afterwards thrown into the Marshalsea prison, probably for his interference upon this occasion. (*Leland's Coll.* II. 503.)

— *l. 15, Martyn of the See, i. e. Martin de la Mere.*

— *l. 21, declared by the iij. astates of the land.*—The parliamentary recognition of the right of Richard, Duke of York, here referred to, took place A.D. 1460. (*Vide Rot. Parl.* V. 377.)

P. 5, l. 4, gadrers, gadres, in MS.

— *l. 14, only of hardies, hardies and, in MS.*

— *l. 27, he came to the gates afore the citie.*—Polydore Vergil here introduces a long account of the parleying of the citizens with Edward IV. from their walls during the whole of one day, and their ultimately insisting upon his taking an oath to be faithful to Henry VI. before they would permit him to enter; which oath he took on the following morning at the gate of the City. Vergil adds that Edward's perjury in this instance was probably the occasion of the punishment which fell upon his family in the murder of his sons. (*P.* 524.)

The Historian probably thought that the excellence of the moral was a sufficient justification for the invention of the incident, or, at any event, for its amplification from Fabyan, who says, that Edward confirmed with an oath his deceptive declaration that he came merely to claim his father's rights. (P. 660.) Fabyan is a poor authority for an incident which took place at York.

P. 6, l. 6, *I deme ye*, i. e. yea.—Although the Marquis Montague subsequently appeared in arms in the party of his brother, the Earl of Warwick, there is reason to believe that the present writer was correct in supposing that he was secretly favorable to Edward IV. (*Vide Leland's Coll. II. 505; Polydore Vergil, 527.*)

— l. 16, *gret partye of the noble men and comons in thos parties, were towards th' Erle of Northumbarland, and would not stire with any lorde or noble man other than with the sayde Earle.*—The Chronicler in Leland's Collectanea asserts that "as Edward passid the Countrey he shewid the Erle of Northumbrelande's lettre and seale that sent for hym," (II. 503)—a stratagem quite in character, but which is not mentioned by any other authority. The feudal authority of the Earl of Northumberland is exemplified in other passages, at p. 7, and p. 32. The same power is attributed in the West to the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Devonshire, as "the old enheritors of that contrie." (P. 23.)

— l. 33, *England had*—England and had, in MS.

— l. 34, *a great battaile in those same parties.*—The battle of Towton, fought 29th March, 1461.

P. 7, l. 35, *scorers*, or, as it is in other places, *scourers*, i. e. scouts, avant-couriers, or afore-riders.

P. 8, l. 17, *disperbled*,—The same as disperbled, i. e. dispersed, which occurs hereafter p. 37, and also in Fabyan, p. 31.

P. 9, l. 10, *the Kyng desyred him to come owte with all his people into the filde.*—The Chronicler in Leland says, that Warwick would have fought, but that "he had receyvid a lettre from the Duke of Clarence that he should not fight on til he cam." (*Coll. II. 504.*)

P. 10, l. 23, *my lady, theyr mother.*—This was Cicely, daughter of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmerland, (*Dug. Bar. I. 299, b.*) Of her large family we here find mention, besides Edward IV. and his brothers Clarence and Gloucester, of Margaret, married to the Duke of Burgundy; Anne, the wife of Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter; and Elizabeth, wife of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk.

— l. 29, *high and mighty*; right and mighty, in MS.

— l. 33, *so that*; to that, in MS.

P. 11, l. 21, *trew service*; trew servaunts, in MS.

P. 12, l. 16, *the great promises, pacts, and othes, to the contrary, made solempnily,*

and also priuately sworne, to the Frenche Kyng, Qwene Margarete, and hir sonne Edward. There is a curious and very little known MS. upon this subject in the same Volume of Stowe's transcripts from which the foregoing narrative has been derived, entitled, "The Maner and Gwidyng of the Erle of Warwick at Aungiers from the xvth day of July to the iijth of August 1470, which day he departed from Aungiers." It is printed in Sir Henry Ellis's Collection of Original Letters, 2d Series, I. 132.

P. 12, l. 22, *escape by the sea to Calais, whiche was enswryd to hym selfe in every caas that myght hape hym*.—Warwick was Captain of Calais, and his popularity there is very strikingly pictured by De Comines, who was an eye-witness of it. Within a quarter of an hour after the arrival of tidings of the restoration of Henry VI. every body in the town, high and low, rich and poor, placed the Earl's badge, the ragged staff, in his cap. Those who could afford it had it of gold, the poorer sort embroidered it upon the cloth. The instantaneous outburst of rejoicing upon this sudden change in affairs occasioned considerable astonishment to De Comines, and called forth some of his usual sarcastic observations. (I. 202.)

P. 13, l. 7, *barred and letted*, barred and lettyng, in MS.

— l. 10, *their auctoritie*, the auctoritie, in MS.

P. 14, l. 23, *good hope*, good helpe, in MS.

P. 18, l. 31, *almyght*, almyghe, in MS.

— l. 35, *therby they*, therby he, in MS.

P. 19, l. 2, *there was a great miste*.—Fabyan writes in the following very prudent manner respecting this mist. "Of the mystes and other impedimentes which fell upon the lordes partye by reason of the incantacyons wrought by fryer Bungey, as the fame went, me lyst nat to wryte." (P. 661.)

— l. 5, *sone they*, sone ther, in MS.

P. 20, l. 15—17. *The Duke of Excestar was smytten downe—and so aftar he escaped*.—The subsequent fortunes of the Duke of Exeter are thus told by De Comines: "J'ay veu un Duc estre allé à pied sans chausses, apres le train dudit Duc [de Bourgogne] pour chassant sa vie de maison à maison, sans se nommer. C'estoit le plus prochain de la lignée de Lanclastre: avoit epousé la sœur du Roy Edoüard. Apres fu connu: et eut une petite pension pour s'en-tretenir." (I. 185.)

P. 21, l. 10. *My Lord Cardinall of England*.—Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury.

P. 22, l. 31. *Beawlew*.—Beaulieu Abbey, founded by King John. (*Vide Monasticon*, V. 680.)

P. 23, l. 1. *Seern*, i. e. Cerne Abbey.

P. 24, l. 20. *Jasper, called Erle of Penbroke, had been afore sent into the contrie*

of Wales to array them.—A Commission to array the Welsh in the cause of Henry VI. and directed to the Duke of Clarence and the Earls of Pembroke and Warwick, was issued as early as the 30th January 1471. (*Fædera*, XI. 680.)

P. 24, l. 37, *algates*, i. e. always.

P. 27, l. 5, *ether have kept*, othar have kept, in MS.

P. 29, l. 21, *one of*; on in, in MS.

P. 30, l. 14, *mylene*; i. e. a mill.

— l. 18. *Edward, called Prince, was taken fleinge to the towne wards and slayne in the fiede.*—The authorities are greatly at variance upon the long disputed subject of the death of this young Prince; but much matter, that is really of no weight at all, has been very unnecessarily introduced into what has been written on both sides. The following, with the addition of the author now printed, may be considered as the statements of the contemporary writers.

The *Croyland Continuator* writes with what seems to be a studious ambiguity.

“Potitus est Rex Edwardus præclara victoria, interfectis de parte Reginæ, tum in campo tum postea ultricibus quorundam manibus, ipso Principe Edwardo, unigenito Regis Henrici, victo Duce Somersetjæ, Comiteque Devonijæ, ac aliis dominis omnibus et singulis memoratis.” (*Gale*, I. 555.) Here it is uncertain whether the Prince died in the field, or afterwards “ultricibus quorundam manibus;” and whether those words allude to the decapitation of the Duke of Somerset and the others on the day after the battle, which is admitted, or to the assassination of Edward in the manner related by other historians, which is controverted.

Fabyan says,

“In the which batayll she [Queen Margaret] was taken and Sir Edwarde her sone, and so brought unto the Kynge. But after the Kinge hadde questioned with the sayd Sir Edwarde, and he had answeryd unto hym contrarye his pleasure, he thenne strake hym with his gauntelet upon the face; after whiche stroke so by him receyved, he was by the Kynges seruantes incontynently slayne upon the iiij. day of the moneth of May.” (P. 662.) *Fabyan*’s statement, that Queen Margaret was taken in the battle, is certainly not accurate.

The *Chronicler in Leland* says,

“There [at Tewkesbury] was slayn Prince Edward crying on the Duke of Clarence, his brother in law, for help. There was slayne also Curtney, Erle of Devonshir,” and various others, all of whom are agreed to have been killed in the battle. (*Leland’s Coll.* II. 506.)

Polydore Vergil writes thus:

“Edouardus princeps adolescens præstantissimus, aliquanto post ductus ad colloquium cum Edouardo, interrogatur ab eo, cur ejus regnum ingressus

ausus esset id armis divexare? Cui præsentī animo respondit se avitum regnum recuperatum venisse. Ad ea Edouardus nihil respondens, tantum manu adolescentem procul submovit, quem in vestigio qui circumstabant (circumstabant autem Georgius Clarentiæ, Ricardus Glocestriæ duces, et Gulielmus Hastyngius,) crudeliter trucidarunt, ejusque corpus cum reliquis interfectorum cadaveribus in proximo cænobio monachorum ordinis divi Benedicti humatur.* (P. 530.)

De Comines simply remarks,

"Le dit Roy Edouïard en eut la victoire et fut le Prince des Galles tué sur le champ." (I. 210.)

P. 31, l. 10, *Clyfton*, *Clyston*, in MS.

— l. 23, *founden nat fer*, nat founden far, in MS.

P. 38, l. 9, *the Kyngē dūbed Knyghtes the maior, the recordar, dyvars aldermen, with othar worshipfull of the sayd Citie of London*.—The *Chronicler* in *Leland*, supplying information which we might have expected to find in *Fabyan*, informs us, that "Syr John Stokton [the Mayor], Syr Rafe Verney, Syr Richard Lee, Syr John Young, Syr William Taylor, Syr George Ireland, Syr John Stoker, Syr Matthieu Philip, Syr William Hampton, Syr Thomas Stalbroke, Syr John Crosby [one of the Sheriffs], and Syr Thomas Ursewike, Recorder of London," were the persons thus honored. (*Lel. Coll. II.* 507.)

— l. 29, *he dyed the xxij. day of the monithe of May*.—Some one has added here in the margin of the MS. with a reference after the word "dyed," "or was mordered." The death of Henry VI. is one of those dark events, the truth respecting which cannot fail to become matter of dispute. The present author states, it will be perceived, that he died "of pure displeasure and melencoly" on the 23rd May, which was the day of the Ascension, or Holy Thursday. The other authorities are as follow:

The Croyland Continuator tells all that was certainly known—perhaps all that ever will be known—in the following significant words:

"Taceo, hoc temporum interstitio [i. e. during Edward's absence in Kent] inventum esse corpus Regis Henrici in Turri Londinensi exanime: Parcat Deus, et spatium poenitentiae ei donet, quicumque tam sacrilegas manus in Christum Domini ausus est immittere." (*Gale, I.* 556.)

* Hall, as usual, translates Polydore Vergil; but adds, that Prince Edward was taken on the field by Sir Richard Croftes, and by him delivered up after the battle, in consequence of a proclamation offering a reward of £100 per annum for life to any one who would find the Prince, dead or alive, and also declaring that the Prince's life should be spared. Hall is a very poor authority in his additions to Vergil; but it is worthy of investigation whether Sir Richard Crofts ever received any annuity of £100 per annum.

Fabyan, after stating that on "Ascension Euyne," that is, on the 22nd May, the late King's corpse was brought "unreverently" from the Tower to St. Paul's, and thence conveyed, on the morrow, to Chertsey, adds :

"Of the death of this Prynce dyuerse tales were tolde : but the most common fame wente, that he was stykked with a dagger by the handes of the Duke of Gloucester." (P. 662.)

The Chronicler in Leland writes as if he had known "the very heart of the mystery."

"The same night, beyng the 21. day of May, and Tuesday, at night, betwixt a xi. and xii. of the Clok, was King Henry, being Prisoner yn the Toure, put to Deth : the Duke of Glocestre and dyverse other beyng there that night." (*Coll. II.* 507.)

The same author agrees with *Fabyan* that the corpse was removed to St. Paul's on the 22nd May.

Polydore Vergil relates the common rumour ;

"Henricus Sextus, paulo ante regno dejectus, in Turri morte affectus est ; hunc, ut fama constans est, Ricardus Glocestriæ dux gladio percussit, quo ita Edouardus rex ejus frater omni hostili metu liberaretur." (P. 532.)

De Comines places the death after the battle of Barnet instead of Tewkesbury, and says,

"Si je n'en ai oüi mentir, incontinent apres cette bataille le Duc de Glocestre . . . tua de sa main, ou fit tuer en sa presence, en quelque lieu à part, ce bon homme le Roy Henry."—(*Id.* 209.)

The contradiction between the date of the exhibition of the corpse as stated by the *Leland Chronicler*, who is a very good authority—and by *Fabyan*, who is generally pretty accurate respecting matters which took place in London—and the date of the death as given by the author now published, if considered with reference to the position of the various persons interested in Henry's death on those days, and the circumstances of his hurried interment, will be found to be destructive of the credit of our author's version of what was in all probability an infamous murder.

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FOR THE PUBLICATION OF
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WITHOUT at all disparaging the usefulness, or intending to interfere with the efforts, of existing associations of this nature, it has been determined to institute a Metropolitan Society, which may work together with those already in the field, and which it is thought desirable to make far more comprehensive than any one that has yet been established.

The name of CAMDEN has been assumed as at once a symbol of the importance and value of the subjects to which the attention of the Society will be directed, and a pledge that its designs will be prosecuted with zeal, learning, and judgment.

CAMDEN, the Nourice of Antiquitie,
And lanterne unto late succeeding age,
To see the light of simple veritie
Buried in ruines (through the great outrage
Of her owne people led with warlike rage);
CAMDEN! though time all monuments obscure,
Yet thy just labours ever shall endure.

(Spenser's Ruines of Time.)

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Bishop Parkhurst to John Foxe, 1563.

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